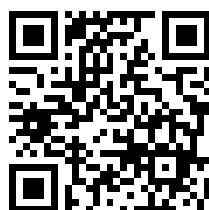

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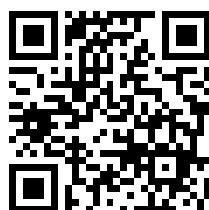
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UNIVERSITÉ DE GAND
RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX
PUBLIÉS PAR
LA FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES
5^e FASCICULE

ELCKERLIJK
A FIFTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH MORALITY

(Presumably by Petrus Dorlandus)

AND

EVERYMAN

A NEARLY CONTEMPORARY TRANSLATION.

A contribution to the History of the Literary Relations of Holland and England

EDITED

BY

Dr. HENRI LOGEMAN.



« A friend in need is a friend in deed. »



GAND

LIBRAIRIE CLEMM (H. ENGELCKE, SUCCESEUR)
RUE DE LA CALANDRE, 5

1892

RECUEIL DE TRAVAUX
PUBLIÉS PAR LA FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE GAND.

EXTRAIT DU RÈGLEMENT.

Les travaux des professeurs, maîtres de conférences et chargés de cours seront publiés sous la responsabilité personnelle de leurs auteurs.

Ceux des élèves et anciens élèves seront publiés en vertu d'une décision de la Faculté.

Gand, impr. Eug. Vanderhaeghen.

*To those English friends who have in such
various ways and on such various occasions assisted me*

THIS EDITION IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

*It seems to me that I can in no way better testify
to the kind help, I have so often received at the hands of
my English friends, than by inscribing on the first page
of this work a few words of public acknowledgment. In
the present instance I am especially thinking of one*

who has thought no sacrifice of time too great, to assist an entire stranger in his studies, — simply because that stranger was a co-worker in the same field. Nor is my case an isolated one. Nowhere does the foreign student meet with so much friendly feeling as in English Literary Centres.

This book speaks of the literary relations of England and the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. The future historian of the study of English Philology will have to devote some space, be it only a little to a different kind of relation between the two countries, in the century which is now speeding to its close.

INTRODUCTION.

I. — DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXTS.

A parallel reprint of the two texts seemed desirable, if not necessary. Of the English text no satisfactory edition exists which can be used for philological purposes, and none of those existing may be said to be generally accessible¹. The Dutch text has never been reprinted at all. There will be seen to be a sufficient correspondence of the two texts to allow of a face-to-face reproduction, albeit that this could be done only at the sacrifice of much space. No other method would have yielded the result aimed at : to enable the student at once to grasp the fact that a certain connexion of original and translation exists between the two texts, and to simplify the solution of the difficulty which one is at once confronted with : Which is the original, which the translation ? This solution is attempted lower down. (See Ch. IV.) The various editions, that have come to the knowledge of the editor, will here be found enumerated, and so far as possible, described.

A. — English Texts.

No strictly chronological order could be followed, as to a very great extent the determination of the years of printing is a matter of conjecture only. But as Pynson was in the field as a printer before Skot, the former's editions are mentioned first².

¹ With one exception (see lower down) which is full of bad misprints.

² Although it might be rash to speak too confidently, the Edition by Skot without a colophon seems to be the second, as it exhibits many

1° A fragment in the Douce Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Douce fragments.) It consists of four leaves, which now look like small quarto, but on investigation they are found to have seven lines at the tops cut off on either side. As at present bound in the collection of Douce-fragments mentioned, the leaves through some oversight on the part of the binder are wrongly inserted, the *verso* in each case, but the last, coming before the *recto*.

The lines preserved are, 1st fragment : l.l. 683 (partly cut away) — 707 (inclusively), in reality the *recto* but given as *verso*; l.l. 714-737 its *v^o* is given as *r^o*; 2nd fragment : l.l. 744-768 (*r^o* given as *v^o*) and l.l. 775-798 (*v^o* given as *r^o*); 3rd fragment : l.l. 805-829 (*r^o* given as *v^o*) and l.l. 836-859 (*v^o* given as *r^o*); 4th fragment : l.l. 866-891 and 898 to the end, and the colophon. The Colophon is : ¶ Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the Sygne of the George by Rychard Pynson / prynter unto the Kyngs noble grace.

In the present edition this fragment is referred to as D.

2° A fragment in the British Museum, London (C. 21. c. 17). It consists of ten leaves and contains l.l. 305 down to the end with the colophon : ¶ Imprynted at London in Fletestrete / by me Rycharde Pynson / prynter to the Kynges moost noble grace. No catchwords but *Eueryman* printed at the foot before signatures.

The copy is interleaved and some pages are bound up with the text before and after our fragment, in order to enter the resultats of a collation with the Lincoln copy. (See lower down.) In this edition the fragment is called B.

3° The following account of an entire copy is taken from p. 1417 of the Catalogue of Mr Huth's library :

SUMMONING OF EVERY MAN. Here begynneth a treatyse how the hye fader of heuen sendeth deth to somon euery creature to come and gyue a counte of theyr lyues in this worlde and is in maner of a morall playe. [This title is over a cut which represents Death summoning a figure, over whose head is a label with the legend « Eueryman »¹. [No place or date, but with the name and device of John Scott on the last page.] 4^{to} Black letter G. M.

“ corrections and important changes. » Hazlitt's Collections & Notes 1867-1876, p. 150. See appendix.

¹ This figure is reproduced — presumably from the Salisbury copy — in Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. I. [Ed.]

A. B. 6 leaves each; and D 4 leaves : no sig. C, but the tract is quite complete.

From the Caldecott and Daniel Libraries.

The only other copy known of this edition is in the library of Salisbury Cathedral. The woodcut figures on the back of the first leaf had already been used to represent the *dramatis personæ* in the play or interlude of « Hickescorner ».

The device of Scott (or Skot) on the last page is the same as that at the end of the « Boke of Maid Emlyn » the blocks at top and bottom only varied. Mr Daniel asserts on the flyleaf in a MS note that « This is a much earlier edition than that mentioned in Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. iii, p. 79 as being in the library of Lincoln Cathedral; but for this statement there is no authority. Both impressions were in all likelihood issued within a year or two of each other, though the question of priority might be difficult to decide. The title « The summoning » is found at the foot of several leaves.

This is the copy that served as basis of our edition. In the very few cases where it had to be mentioned in the notes, it will be found referred to as H.

4° A copy was at one time in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral. It was « afterwards sold with others to Dibdin for 500 guineas, and advertised in the *Lincoln Nosegay* 1814. » (Note to Hawkins's Preface in Hazlitt's 1874 ed. of *Dodsley*). Dibdin, however, appears to have bought it for Lord Spencer, who exchanged it with Heber against an imperfect Caxton. (Ms. note by Daniel in *H*). Having thence passed through the hands of Jolley, it is now in the Britwell Library, belonging to Wakefield Christie Miller Esq.

The variant readings from this copy, which is referred to here as L, were first taken from the collation, referred to above, and found in B. This collation is the work of William Herbert, the editor of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*. They have afterwards been recollated with the Original ¹.

Colophon : ¶ Thus endeth the morall playe of euery man

¶ Imprynted at London in Poules

chyrche yarde by me

John Skot

5° A copy of Skot's edition which is only identified by his mark,

¹ Herbert evidently intended to transcribe another piece, of which

and which is therefore the same edition as Mr Huth's copy, is said to be found in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury cathedral. See my account of H. transcribed from Mr Huth's Catalogue; Hazlitt's Handbook p. 463-464, Pollard, *Miracle Plays*, etc. p. 202. When I applied to the Librarian, I was however told that no such copy seemed to exist there. I have no doubt that it will again turn up. As the notes to Hazlitt's ed., (Dodsley vol I; where his references to Skot's *other* ed. are those to the Salisbury copy as used by Hawkins) compared to the readings of H. in my text, prove H. and S. to be two copies of the same edition: I had no hesitation in abandoning the search, and contented myself with this bare mention for completeness' sake.

6° In 1773 *Everyman* was printed for the first time in the first vol. of *Thomas Hawkins' Origin of the English Drama*, Oxford 1773. I have not seen this ed. Hawkins retained the old spelling; he omitted l. 857 of my text.

7° Hawkins' text was reprinted with a large number of misprints by *Karl Goedeke* in :

Every-Man, Homulus und Hekastus. Ein Beitrag zur internationalen Literaturgeschichte. Hanover, Carl Rümpler, 1865. Goedeke missed out l.l. 717 and 857 of my text.

8° Hawkins' text was also reprinted in Hazlitt's Dodsley, i. e. the fourth ed. of *Old English Plays*, etc. — (vol. I.) These two texts are in a partly modernised spelling. Mr Hazlitt seems to have collated the Salisbury-Skott and the two Pynson-fragments. His notes are however few and far between.

9° Large fragments have been printed only quite recently in A. W. Pollard's *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, etc. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1890. (The l.l. given are, 1-27; 42-46; 60-316; 463-526; 629-677; 768 — the end, i. e. more than half of the text.) The extracts are fairly representative, and the great distinguishing feature as compared with previous edd. is that Mr Pollard did not

however he merely wrote down the title: « *Secretary and Jealousy* » a Dialogue. The following pages are blank.

¹ I found two small discrepancies, which however may both be owing to the inaccuracy of Hawkins' ed. for which see Hazlitt *passim*. [Mr Pollard says that « a rough examination leads (him) to think that Hawkins is very fairly accurate. »] According to Hawkins, as reported by Hazlitt *that* in l. 111 and *not* in l. 358 would not be in the Salisbury copy, whereas they are found in H.

modernise his text. He printed however at second hand from the Lincoln — now Britwell Library-copy, having used Herbert's transcript in the Br. Mus. But as Herbert seems to be accurate enough for 18th c. notions of transcription, this circumstance detracts perhaps but little from the value of M^r Pollard's text.

10° In the Shaksp. Society Papers III, 149 the Douce fragments are printed. I have not seen this ed.

B. — Dutch Texts.

For a reason to be mentioned presently, two tolerably long passages will have to be given in full from *Campbell's Annales de la typographie Neerlandaise au XV^e siècle*.

Boecxken (Een schoen) ghemaect in een maniere van enen spele of batimente op Elckerlijck. Delf in Hollant, no indication of date or printer (Christ. Snellaert¹, about 1495), 32 pages, 20 long lines, black letter. H. M. T.², 83 (106) f. 2, signatures aij-dij, no numbers of pages nor catchwords. 8 v^o.

F. 1. (the title) is wanting. F. 2 recto (signature aij) : ¶ Hier beghint een schoē boecxkē ¶ ghemaect in een maniere vā enen || spele oft batimente op Elckerlijck ¶ En indē eersten so spreect god ald³ || (I) C sie bouē wt minen trone || Dz al dз is in smēscē psone || Leeft wt vresen onbekent || etc. F. 31 verso line 6 : Daer wi alle moetē ghemene || In comen groot en clene || Amen || Die na prologhe || (N) Eēt in dancke cleyn en groot || En siet hoe elckerlijck coēt ter || Gesēlscap vriēdē en goet doot || etc. F. 32 recto, line 9 : Nu laet ons bidden onghelet || Dat dit de mensche so moet vestē || Dz wi voer gode comē suuer tē lestē || Des gonne ons die hemelsche vad' || Amen sege (sic) alle gader || Gheprent te Delf in Hollant || F. 32 verso in large characters : Delf in Hollant || After this : the printers mark H. M. T. 83 (106) e. 3.

In the May of 1881 M^r Olivier⁴ was kind enough to send to me for inspection the only copy, known to be in existence of this curious *incunabulum*, which will prove a valuable addition to Dutch dramatic literature⁵.

¹ A Ms. note by M^r van Loon states this gentleman's opinion that the Brussels copy is more likely to be the work of H. Eckert van Hombergh than that of Chr. Snellaert, and he refers to H M T (108) a a b. The fact is, the printer's mark at the end appears to have been used by either [Ed.]

² Reference to Holtrop's Mon. Typogr. [Ed.]

³ The Brussels second-hand bookseller, since deceased. [Ed.]

⁴ « qui vient enrichir la littérature dramatique Neerlandaise. » Observe that this reads as though not only this early edition, but the morality itself were entirely unknown.

Unfortunately leaves 1, 3, 6 and 8 are wanting. (Campbell *Annales 2^e supplement* 1884, p. 9, 302. a.)

Compare with this the following description from the *Annales 3^e supplement* (1889 p. 5, 301. a.) :

Boecxken ghemaect in een maniere van enen spele oft batimente op Elckerlijck. Delf in Hollant, no date nor printer's name. (Chrétien Snellaert, about 1496) 32 pages, black letter. H. M. T. 83 (106) f, 19, 20 long lines; signatures aij-dij, no numbers of pages, nor catchwords. 8 v°.

F. 1 is wanting. F. 2 *recto* (signature aij) : ¶ Hier beghint een schoē boecxkē || ghemaect in een maniere vā enen || spele oft batimente op Elckerlijck || En indē eersten so spreect god ald, || (I)C sie bouē wt minen trone || D3 al d3 is in smēscē p'sone || Leeft wt wesen ¹ onbekent || etc. F. 31 *verso* line 7 : In comen groot en̄ clene || Amen || Die na prologhe || (N) Eēt in dancke cleyn en̄ groot || En̄ siet hoe elckerlijck coēt ter || Geselscap vriēdē en̄ goet doot || Gaet elckerlijck af dies sijt vroet || Scoēhē cracht vroescap en̄ v. sinne || Tes al v'gäckelijc sijt dies te binnē || Sond' die doeht volcht voer al || Mer als die doeht is so smal : || Dat sij niet mede en mach of en kā || Arm elckerlijc hoe vaerdi dan || Ter rekeninge voer onsen here || F. 32 *recto* : Dan gaedi van wee van zeere : || Wat na die doot ist quaet te v'halē || Daer en baet voersprake noch talē || Ey elckerlijc hoe moechdi wesen || Houerdich nidich seer wt gelesē || Merct desē spiegel heftē voer ogē : || En̄ wilt v van houerdien poghen || En̄ oec van allen sonden met : || Nv laet ons bidden onghelēt || Dat dit elc mensche so moet vestē || D3 wi voer gode comē suuer tē lestē || Des gonne ons die hemelsche vad' || Amen segt alle gader || Gheprent te Delf in hollaut (*sic*) || F. 32 *verso* : Delf in hollant || After this the printers mark. H. M. T. 83 (106) e 3 and 85 (108) a 2.

The unique copy, as hitherto (known) of this morality ² was sold at Brussels at the auction of Mr Olivier ³. The Brussels Royal library bought the copy at a rather high price (fr. 220). Unfortunately the first page probably

¹ *Wesen* sic in Campbell. B. has however *vresen*.

² L'exemplaire unique (*sic*, a word dropped out) jusqu'ici de cette moralité « consequently not of this *edition* but of the *morality*. »

³ See the « Supplément au troisième et dernier catalogue de vente du libraire Fr. J. Olivier à Bruxelles (25-27 mai 1886) n° 14 :

SPEL oft BATIMENT. (Au premier feuil de texte :) ¶ Hier beghint een schoē boecxkē || ghemaect in een maniere vā enen || spele oft batimente op Elckerlyck || ... (à la fin :) Gheprent te Delf in hollant [*sic*. Ed.] (au verso du dernier feuil la marque de Chr. Snellaert, la Licorne, avec les mots Delf in hollant), p. in-8°, goth., de 28 feuillets; en vélin.

Seul exemplaire connu, non décrit jusqu'ici. Cette pièce dramatique, fort curieuse, commence par la signature A-ij; elle compte quatre cahiers de huit feuillets, dont le premier n'en a que quatre. — Taches d'eau. — »

Another riddle. — In May 1881 Mr Olivier sends a copy or this copy to

containing the title and a woodcut, as well as leaves 3, 4 and 5 are wanting in this copy. The Royal Library Authorities kindly allowed me to describe this rarest of volumes ¹.

It has been thought desirable to place before the reader all the material for enabling him to form an opinion on the question which has undoubtedly already suggested itself to him : Have we to do here with one identical copy or edition, — with two distinct copies of one edition, or with two several editions? The question is interesting enough to have some space devoted to it. It can only help to direct subsequent investigations into the right channel.

Dr Campbell was every-where known as a painstaking and accurate scholar. But it would seem that from whatever side we look upon the matter, whichsoever supposition we favour, we cannot fail to discover a mistake on his part. If we assume that the two descriptions refer to one identical book as some persons to be mentioned presently seem disposed to do, we are at once confronted with a list of no less than eight cases — to be gleaned from the table given below — where Campbell seems to have adopted one opinion, or one reading in 1884, and another in 1889.

Copy described in the	Copy described in the	B ² .
2 nd Supplement :	3 rd Supplement :	has :
1° Boecxken;	Boecxken(Eenschoen)	een schoē boecxkē;
2° about 1495;	about 1496;	—
3° 20 long lines;	19, 20 long lines;	14, 18, 19, 20 lines;
4° vresen;	wesen;	vresen;
5° eñ goet doot;	eñ goet doot;	eñ goet [doot];
6° segc (<i>sic</i>);	seḡt;	segc;
7° hollant;	hollaut (<i>sic</i>);	hollaut;
8° F 32 <i>verso</i> in large characters;	«in large characters,» not mentioned;	in large characters; —
9° leaves 1, 3, 6, 8 are wanting;	the title and leaves 3, 4; and 5 are wanting.	9° leaves 1, 3, 6, 8 are wanting;
10° In May 1881 Olivier sends sit;	Some time sub- sequently the Bibl. Royale sends it.	—

Dr Campbell. If *this* copy, how can he say that it had never been described; if another, — how about the *seul exemplaire*? He does not say that this is incomplete. [Ed.]

¹ « De ce rarissime volume. »

² The copy which is now in the Brussels Royal Library.

1° As the title was wanting in either case, the words (Een schoen) *Boecxken* were evidently taken by Campbell from the extant 2nd page. As this presented in both cases the words *Een schoe boecxkē*, the omission of (Een schoen) is certainly a mistake. 2° Here C's opinion may have changed. 3° — 7° incl. and even in 9° we may, nay we must suppose Dr Campbell to have counted wrong, or misread his text, although the *sic sub* 6° and 7°, which are C's, would all but make it impossible to do so. If this assumption seems inadmissible, we are thrown back on the supposition that we have here traces of two different copies whether of one edition ¹, or of two. But, the assumption of faultlessness leading us back to this, we have the right to reject it again, as a comparison with B. — the Brussels « Royal Library » copy will establish at once. For B. now agrees with the 1495 ed. and now with the 1496 one. I may add that the officials of the Brussels Royal Library tell me that there can be no doubt that there is only one copy ². It strikes us moreover that Dr Campbell continually refers to the work as a unique one, as though he were not cognisant, at the time of writing, of his having described a very similar work, and of the circumstance that the Royal Library at the Hague possessed a later impression. See the above description and a letter to the Royal Brussels Librarian (date 9 june 1886), in which C. writes: « With regard to your plan, to write a notice of this unique dramatic piece, which I am happy to hear of, it is very unfortunate that 120 lines are wanting, especially the end of the exposition ³. »

I believe then that at any time a second copy may turn up, and shall of course be thankfull for any communication, leading to its discovery, but until this discovery we have to look upon B as the oldest copy in existence. In this connection it is perhaps necessary to add that there would seem to be reason for a belief that an older copy has existed,

¹ This is *a priori* not impossible. The early printing press seems many a time to have produced copies of *one* ed. differing *inter se*, as e. g. the student of the Shakespeare quarto's will know.

² « Campbell n'a eu sous les yeux que [the Brussels copy]. Il y a une confusion ou une erreur dans son ouvrage, mais ceci a été rectifié dans « l'exemplaire qui sert à M. Petit. » I was anxious to hear more about this rectification but hitherto I have not succeeded in obtaining more information.

³ La fin de l'exposé. I suppose the loss of a 3 is here referred to.

from which B. copied. Testimonies to this hypothesis will be found in the notes to the Dutch text ¹.

2° Den spieghel der saillicheit van elckerlijc. Hoe dat elckerlijc
mensche wert ghedaecht gode reikeninghe te doen vā sinen wercke ||.
(Woodcut).

In-8°, 32 pp., no numbers of pages, signatures : [a]-d[dvij]. Under the title, a woodcut, with engraver's name, representing death striking « Everyman » with a spear, in a cemetery, the same cut is found *verso*. F° 2 begins : ¶ Hier beghint een schoon boecxkē || ghemaect in een maniere vā eenen || Spele ofte esbatemente op Elckerlijc || mensche ... The only copy known of this edition is in the Royal Library at the Hague. It is unfortunately incomplete, ending with l. 890. So no exact information: printer's name or printer's mark, helps to establish its date.

The late Dr. Campbell added ² a ms. note in this copy to the effect that it was printed in 1501 at Antwerp by E. v. Homberch. This may be true, but as it seems to rest solely on the fact that letter press and paper here employed are the same as that used for another work [Goetman (Lambert) spyegel der jonghers] with this colophon: ¶ Dit boecxkē is gheprint tantwerpen Binnē der cāmerpoorte. bi my || Henrick eckert van homberch. Int || iaer ons heren. M. CCCCC. eñ. i., and as the definite statement — printed in 1501 — has found its way into print ³, it may perhaps not be deemed superfluous to warn readers against accepting the date as authoritative.

This copy will be found referred to in the present edition as H.

Some corrections in 16th century handwriting are found in this copy of Homberch's edition. It would seem that two different hands are distinguishable; but it may be that one man went over it twice. In one or two cases it is difficult to decide whether the first or the second corrector has been at work. The work was afterwards bound up, when part of these corrections were cut off. They have been denoted by H I C(orrector) and H. II C. respectively. It was not always easy to make

¹ e. g. to ll. 85, 99, 394, etc. Moreover the original Du. text has possibly had the prologue, as found in Ev., see lower down p. xxviii, note 2.

² I had not recognised this handwriting, which is tolerably familiar to me. I give this on the authority of Mr. Arnold, the courteous Ghent sublibrarian, who was kind enough to furnish me with the substance for the description of this and the next volume.

³ See e. g. G. Kalf, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde in de XVI^e eeuw*, I, 246.

out these corrections which may be safely pronounced to possess very little critical value. Yet it has been thought better to reproduce them in the footnotes.

3° Den spyeghel der salicheyt van || elckerlijc. Hoe dat elckerlijc mēsche wert || ghedaecht gode rekeninghe te doen || Woodcut.

In 8°, 32 pp. no number of pages, nor catchwords; signatures : [a]-d[dvijij]. Under the title a coarse woodcut, representing Death striking Everyman with a dart; it is repeated *verso*. F. 2 - F. 32 see our text which is printed from this copy. The Colophon gives no date but the printers name is found : ¶ Gheprint Tantwerpen buyten dye || camere poorte in den gulden enhoren bij || mi Willem vorsterman || At the *verso* of f° 32 Vorsterman's mark is found, which is reproduced in facsimile at the end of our text.

The only known copy of this edition is found in the Leiden University Library, (n° 7008, vol. III of the Catalogus der Bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, 1877 p. CLXXXV where it is conjecturally referred to 1525. —

The dates will thus have been found not to be quite certain, but there can hardly be any doubt that *B.* will be acknowledged to be a few years older than *H.*, and *H.* at least some twenty years older than *L.* In *B* and *H* the first *I* is not yet filled in as in *L*, space being left open apparently for rubrication. The printing of *L.* as of the woodcut is much coarser. The spelling differences, however slight and unimportant, so far as they go, tell the same tale. Only a look at the old copies themselves will find this again borne out by the disposition of the lines. When inspecting some lines in *B*, then in *H*, and afterwards in *L*, we see the lines, so to speak, expand before our eyes. All this tends to make it tolerably certain that *B*, *H*, *L*, is the right order.

4° No modern edition exists, our edition being the first. But some extensive extracts (± 110 ll. in all) are given in the *Geschiedenis der Rederijkers in Nederland*, door Dr G. D. J. Schotel, 2nd ed. Rotterdam, 1871, I pp. 31 ff.¹

¹ Just now — Dec. 16, 1891 — I am informed that Dr J. Bolte of Berlin is preparing for the Press a volume containing a collection of Dramas on the same subject, in which the Elckerlijc and its Latin translation — about which see lower down — will be included.

II. — MANNER OF EDITING.

We have seen that to a very great extent the dates of the English and Dutch editions are a matter of conjecture. For all that, it is possible to indicate the order of succession with a great amount of certainty. In the case of the English texts we have the Pynson fragments first and the Skot-editions afterwards. With regard to the Dutch texts we have found *B* to be the first, then *H* and lastly *L*. Yet a Skot, and the late Vorsterman have respectively been chosen as the bases for the English and Dutch texts. This choice demands perhaps a word of justification.

In my opinion a reproduction of an ancient text must before all be calculated to produce an impression of Unity. Had either of the Pynson fragments and the Dutch *B*, or *H*, been chosen, all of these being to a greater or lesser extent incomplete — the passages wanting would have had to be supplied from a later edition and the result would inevitably have been patchwork. An old dress with new patches is still ugly, and does not tend to give the required impression of Unity. No new wine in old bottles can quench our critical thirst. In other words, if any of the older but incomplete texts had been taken as basis, a mixture of older and newer fragments would have been the result, and as this could not be the complete texts were printed.

In the case of the Dutch texts, this was *L*, perhaps some, thirty years younger than *B*. But the disadvantage of this method, if any, must not be thought to be very grave. The spelling was found to differ so little that it could add no weight to the scale. It is true that there are some misprints in *L*, which are not found in *B*, but the reverse is also frequently the case, *L* very often correcting a misprint of *B*'s. Moreover all variants both from *B*. and from *H*., which were thought to be in any way interesting, are added in footnotes.

As regards the English texts, until I was put in possession of the transcript made for me by Mr Pollard from Mr Huth's copy, no other complete original ed. had been available or, which is more, seemed ever likely to be forthcoming. For the Lincoln copy had not yet been traced to its present owner, and the Salisbury Skot, apart from its not being easily accessible, could not be found. The choice would moreover have

laid between *H* and *L* as *H* and *S*, are most likely copies of the same edition. The transcript of *L*. (in the Br. Museum Copy by Herbert) was indeed available, but until the original itself had been consulted, it was not safe to decide, by a comparison of the variant readings, which copy was the earlier. And when the original could be consulted our text based upon *H*. was already set up in proof. Hence *H*. is here the basis. [See Appendix].

It remains to be stated in how far the *variae lectiones* of the other editions have been given, and in how far the texts have been faithfully reproduced.

(The) *H*(uth) and *L*(eiden) copies have been reprinted as they stand in their respective originals. Even the punctuation has as a rule not been tampered with. But whilst wishing to present a faithful copy of the ancient texts, I thought it necessary to make a readable text so far as this was consistent with the principles laid down. Apparent misprints, such as inverted letters etc. are corrected in the text, but the reading of the text has in all cases been given in a footnote. The punctuation of the original is followed, but where the presence of a certain mark could create confusion it has been omitted, but here also a note to this effect will be found at the bottom of the page. Where absence of interpunction could have led to a misunderstanding¹ a (.) has been added in brackets. Hence by comparing the footnotes and eliminating all the (.)'s the original text can in all cases be restored. As the sense of a passage may be largely altered by the punctuation, and as it is before all of importance to place before the reader all possible help to make out the sense that the 15th and 16th century printers assigned to these texts, it is hoped that the system here adopted will be more largely followed than has hitherto been the case.

As far as the *variae lectiones* are concerned, the important ones only are given. Of course it is largely a matter of personal and subjective opinion which variant is important, and which not. But I hope that the principle having once been agreed upon, I may be found to have erred on the safe side only. Spelling differences such as regarding the use of *g* and *gh* in Dutch, or the use of *ai* or *ay* in English are not noted. For these I had neither leisure nor enthusiasm. But all such variants as in any way may be thought to be of any use for the determina-

¹ But only there. I have not attempted to introduce a systematic punctuation,

tion of dialect, or for the determination of interdependence of certain texts are faithfully recorded¹. Misprints and the punctuation of the collated texts have as a rule not been reproduced in the notes except where for the reasons indicated *supra* they might be supposed to be of some use.

Explanatory notes or such critical ones as demanded a word of explanation, are relegated to the end of the volume. Other notes are found at the bottom of the page. With regard to the counting of the lines in the English text, I have followed the only one who had yet done so: Goedeke. But as Goedeke skips two lines (717 and 857 of my text) the latter has 921 lines against 919 of Goedeke's edition. The counting of the Dutch text gave rise to some difficulties, as it was not always very apparent what the author considered one line. Difficult cases will be found justified in the notes to the Dutch text.

In the original of the English texts the names of the persons speaking are found on the *verso*'s in the left, on the *recto*'s in the right hand margin. It was of course absolutely necessary in our reprint to deviate from our original here, and hence all these indications are here found in the left hand margin.

III. — THE AUTHOR AND THE DATE.

I have no intention to enquire fully into many questions, very intimately connected with our text, especially since my researches have thrown no additional light worth mentioning on them. Such are: the relation of our plays to kindred works, their place in literature and the sources. It is otherwise with regard to the date and especially the writer (whether author or translator). These questions will here be fully discussed, and as my English readers can hardly be expected to have all the Dutch publications referred to at hand, a rather full account of various opinions will be given first.

Prof. C.P. Serrure, who did not know of the existence of our *Elckerlijc*, edited in 1857 a Dutch text very closely related to ours², and repeated

¹ More variations have been taken up from B, as the oldest text, than from H.

² Van Homulus || Een schoene Comedie, daer in || begrepen wort hoe in der

in the introduction what already in 1855¹ he had stated to be his opinion, viz. that this Dutch *Homulus* had been written by Peter van Diest (Petrus Diesthemius), that it was thence translated into Latin by Chr. Ischyrius², and that it was afterwards³ translated into German⁴. He is very near guessing what we shall presently find to be the truth when he surmises that an older piece at one time existed on the same lines, which was probably called « Elk mensch, Iedereen » or some such name⁵. He argues against the view that the English *Everyman* can be the original of the Dutch « *Homulus*, » because *Everyman* has not been proved to be so old.

tyt des doots || der menschen alle geschapen dinghen || verlaten dan alleene die duecht / die || vlijft (sic on the fascimile title page) by hem / vermeerdert ende || ghebetert / ende is seer schoon || ende ghenuechlijch || om lesen. || Ghedruckt in de Keyserlycke Rijcstadt Nimmeghen || by my Peeter van Elzen. || Anno M. D. LVI.

Published in the works of the « Maetschappy der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen. 2^e serie. Werken voor de leden alleen bestemd. N^o vi. Gent 1857.

¹ Vaderlandsch Museum voor Nederduitsche Letterkunde, Oudheid en Geschiedenis. 1 (1855) p. 85.

² *Homulus Petri Diesthemii, comoedia in primis lepida et pia, in rem Christiani hominis adprimè faciens, Antuerpiæ quondam in publico ciuitatum Brabantiarum conuentu vulgariter acta, palmamque adepta.*

Homulus haec inscribitur comoedia, quod in ea hominis Christiani uita, et cuius libet uoluptatis carnalis fugacitas graphicè depingitur. Antverpiae, In ædibus Joan. Steelsii, Anno M. D. XLVI. This is the edition we use, but earlier edd. exist, the first of 1536 (Goedeke p. 210).

³ afterwards = • daarna, • which allows us to suppose that S. believed the German text to be derived from the Latin « *Homulus* » although he does not explicitly say so.

⁴ *Der sünden loin ist || der Toid. Rom vj. || Comedia Homuli, gemehrt und / gebessert mit personē vñ sprüchē. || Dairin angezeigt wirt was loins || die sündt gibt nemlich den Toid || vñ wie den menschen dā all crea || turen verlaissen Alleyn syn Duigt || stät ym dan by. Gar nützlich vnd || lieblich zu lesen || zü Cöllen by Jaspar von Gennep || M. D. XL.* At the end : Zü Cöln by Jaspar von Gennep. 4^o.

⁵ This happy conjecture is founded on a Distich by Ischyrius appended to this Latin text :

Quilibet ante fui, mutato nomine, dico
Nunc homulus, per me nam resipiscet homo
as well as on an *Ogdoasticon* by Eusebius Candidus. That this points to the Elckerlijc as the original of the Latin text is certain.

Goedeke in his eminently serviceable : *Everyman, Homulus und Hekastus*, Hanover 1865, is of a different opinion. According to him Petrus Diesthemius gave a Dutch version soon after the *Everyman* had appeared¹. « This version is lost or has never been printed. » Ischyrus translated it into Latin; the Latin version (ib. p. 46) was translated into German by Jaspar von Gennep, and this version was the original of « a » Dutch version, he does not mention which, but it is evident from what follows that Serrure's Dutch *Homulus*-text is meant.

Only quite recently Dr Kalf has treated of this question in the *Tijdschrift voor de Maatschappij van Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* (vol. IX p. 12 ff.). Schotel had already known the long-lost Dutch text, but Kalf was the first to see its true position. The English *Everyman* and the Dutch *Elckerlyc* — Serrure's guess was not so wide off the mark — were compared and found to be almost literally alike; the one must be a translation from the other², unless a common original may be assumed³. According to Kalf, the Latin text was a translation of the *Elckerlyc-Everyman* text: from the Latin it was translated into Low-German, and thence into Dutch as *Homulus*.

That the Latin *Homulus* is directly translated from the Dutch *Elckerlyc* is certain. The Latin text is very closely connected with the English text also, but even a rapid comparison (for which I have no place here) will at once convince the reader — as it has done me — that

¹ ib. p. 42. It will be observed that here Goedeke observes what looks like a studied way of talking about the matter: does he mean to insinuate that Peter v. Diest *translated* it, or that he treated of the same matter independently of the « *Everyman* »?

² Goedeke was of opinion (p. IX) that the English play was most decidedly the original of the Dutch text, but he had never seen the latter!

³ ib. p. 17. Lower down we shall discuss the question which is the original. The hypothesis of a common original does not seem a probable one in view of the *very* close resemblance in word-order, correspondence of words etc. between the two texts. To take one instance, let us examine the overflow of Ev. 1. 85 into 1. 86, as compared to l.l. 69 and 70 of the Dutch text :

whether arte thou goynge/ Thus gayly Hast thou thy maker forgot.
waer sidi opweghe/ Dus moey hebdi al gods vergheten.

One close translation of this kind is curious enough. That both a Dutch and an English translator should thus faithfully have followed their original is improbable.

it stands closer to the Dutch text. That the Latin text is the indirect original (through the Low German version of Jaspar v. Gennep) of the Dutch text is also beyond doubt. The Dutch rhymes in the Homulus had already been shown by Kalf to point to the van Gennep version as its original and van Gennep himself tells us that he had found « vor kürzten jaren ... eyn schön Latynsche Comedy genant Homulus Petri Diesthemij, » which he had « selbig ausz dem Latyn in Teutsche sprach ouergesat » etc. (Goedeke p. 47). If it were otherwise, the presence of the word *Homulus* on the Dutch title page would be incomprehensible. Now, the Latin title is *Homulus Petri Diesthemii Comoedia*, etc. So, Petrus Diesthemius was the writer *either* of this translation into Latin, *or* of the original text. But the translation of the text into Latin was done by Ischyrius¹. His claim rests on a passage in the preface: *Christianus Ischyrius ad Lectorum pium, & candidam iuuentutem* where in a tone, which can hardly be that of anybody else but the responsible translator, he speaks of « (in) hac nostra Homulo ». In exactly the same way Macropedius in the dedication of his Hekastus to D. God. Montanus Endhoviensis speaks of: *hanc Hekastum fabulam nostram*. No alternative therefore remains but to look upon Petrus Diesthemius as the author of our Elckerlyc, not as he has hitherto often been referred to as the author (or translator) of the Dutch Homulus. Hence, as the author of a well-known text, his name is given in the Latin version: *Petri Diesthemii Homulus* i. e. P. D's Elckerlyc translated into Latin.

Now, Petrus Diesthemius or Peter of Diest is an all but unknown name. The Biographical dictionaries, so far as they mention him at all, tell us that he lived in the 16th century and wrote the Homulus; I venture to predict that either detail will be found to be erroneous. We have already seen that he did not write the Homulus, but the Elckerlyc. And so far as the former detail insinuates that he was born, lived, worked and died in the 16th century, which is a fair inference from what the Dictionaries tell us, I think it is inaccurate. My investigations had already led me to believe that this enigmatical Petrus Diesthemius lived and wrote some where about 1475 i. e. long before the 16th century when he was supposed to have written

¹ See on him Andreae, *Bibl. Belg.* p. 154 and Foppens, *Bibl. Belg.* I, p. 169. They both tell us: *Homuli Comoediam, eodem interprete, edidit Antverp. Steelsius 1548.* Foppens, as usual, copied out Andreae.

the Homulus — when I found a notice to the effect that « Pierre de Diest, auteur dramatique du XV^e siècle » was a member of the « Christus oogen » one of the Diest Chambres de Rhétorique in the beginning of the fifteenth century¹.

I was first inclined to attach some importance to this article but the date, notwithstanding that it occurs *twice*, is almost certainly a mistake for XVIth century. For the author himself points out that the « Christus oogen » was not erected until 1502². We find the same fallacious suggestion here, that Petrus should be the author of the Dutch « Homulus. » As we have seen this can not be true. Not one single Dutch copy mentioned in Serrure, in Goedeke, or in the Ghent University Library Catalogue bears Peter van Diest's name.

This note, however, was useful in calling special attention to notices of the township of Diest, its Chambres de Rhétorique, and its celebrated men. If Peter of Diest was the author of this excellent morality, his name should surely be known. Which Peter could it be? In the case of the history of Diest and its Chambres de Rhétorique the result was practically *nil*; but with regard to its distinguished townsmen, I found an entry which proved very interesting. Jourdain, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Géographie Historique*³, Bruxelles 1868-1869, mentions amongst the *Hommes célèbres* of Diest a certain Pierre Dorland, historian and theologian born in 1454 and dead in 1507. Here then was a man who seemed to unite some at least of the requisites of the author of our Elckerlyc. He was a Peter of Diest, was a theologian and he could therefore very well have written this religious play; he died in 1507, — and he could therefore equally well have been a member of the « Christus oogen » at Diest.

Of course, many an other Peter of Diest *might* have existed, I argued; but I started from the hypothesis that the author of this play

¹ See *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*. Tome VIII 1851 p. 404. The article is anonymous.

² The Diest Chambres de Rhétorique have twice been made the subject of special investigation; however the short articles yield no information of any importance to us. See *De Eendragt*, III, 57, E. van Even: *Over den oorsprong der rederijkkamer: de Christus oogen te Diest*; and *Vaderlandsch Museum*, III, 99-129 : F. J. Raymaekers, *historische oogopslag op de rederykkamers van Diest*.

³ My friend and esteemed colleague Dr H. Pirenne called my attention to this work.

must be widely known, and as only *one* « celebrated Peter » seemed known, an *a priori* case was made out in favour of this man. At the same time a new mine for information was struck with the discovery of the surname *Dorlandus*. And what I have subsequently learned about Peter Dorland's life and writings tends only to confirm me in my supposition that we have the author of *Elckerlijc* before us.

Peter Dorland's theological works, partly extant in Ms. only, are very numerous. I mention only a few in a note, so as to show their character¹. I am sorry to confess that I had no time to read these works. After all, if I had been able to do so, I might be supposed to be liable to read sentiments into them, of which the author is guiltless. My judgment as to whether the *Elckerlijc* denotes the same spirit might be biassed. Now the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* in v. Dorlandus, contains a statement which serves my purpose well enough. It is to the effect that Peter Dorland occupies the standpoint of speculative mysticism, a description which fairly suits the author of the *Elckerlijc*.

The title of one of his works (Ghent Univ. Libr. Catalogue) gives us a clue to his official position. *Tractatulus sive sermo veneris pris Petri Dorlandi vicarii domus montis sancti Johanes baptiste ordinis carthusiens. prope Diest, etc.* and Paquot says of him that he died as prior of that establishment.

We see then that a certain Peter Dorland, a native of Diest is known to have written certain mystical treatises, and works in which at least one allegorical personage is made to speak. We know on the other hand that a certain Peter, a native of Diest wrote what may be described as an allegorical, mystical drama, which is so well written that we may safely suppose the author to have become known. It requires no great courage to identify the two. A no less celebrated theologian, born at

¹ Taken from Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*, etc. VI p. 117 ff. *Dialogus de opere amoris, et Passione Christi or Dyalogus devotus inter Christum et Franciscum super Charitate procuratrice salutis nostre atque operatrice Passionis Salvatoris nostri Jhesu Christi quem compilavit frater Petrus Dorlant ad instanciam fratris Francisci Cloetinghe.* Observe that Paquot adds: Dorlant y fait parler J(esu) C(hrist) S. Fran^{çois}, *et la Charité*. Truly, this last item reads like an account of a morality; *speculum humanae vitae*; *Dialogus de mysteriis Passionis Christi*; *De Pane Salutifero vitae*, etc.

Diest, was Jean de Blaer (See Paquot, II, 196, of the 8^e ed. where he is called *Joannes Diestemius Blaerus*) who was called thus, but also *Joannes Diestemius* (Paquot, VI, 121). We might put it in the form of an equation. If Jean de Blaer of Diest is called *Joannes Diestemius*, how would Peter Dorland of Diest be called? Answer : *Petrus Diesthemius*. And as if to crown the edifice, I actually find that in the title of a posthumous edition of one of his works (*The Chronicon cartusiense*) he is denominated *D. Petrus Diestensis i. e. without the « Dorland. »* (Ghent, Univ. Library Catalogue).

This circumstantial evidence seems to me strong enough.

In the same way various members of the Coppens family, printers at Diest are designated now by the epithet *Diest.* simply, than « of Diest » sometime *Diestensis* and sometimes by the form *Diesthemius*. I give some instances in a note together with the references to the *Bibliotheca Belgica* by Messrs Vanderhaeghen, Arnold and Van den Berghe¹. Petrus himself, in the description of one of his works (*Viola animae*, p. *2) is called : *Petrus Dorlandus Cartusiae Diesten Monachus*.

The question of the date still remains. B. was printed about 1495. The older text of which we have reason to assume the existence (x) may have been printed, or written, some fifteen or twenty years before, say about 1477. As the presumed author of *Elckerlyc* was born in 1454, that date would make him about 23 years when he wrote the *Elckerlyc*. Prof ten Brink, years ago, came to the conclusion that the English text was written in the reign of Edward the fourth². It is a pity that

	Bibl. Belgica.
	Aegidius Copenius von Diest . . . (1560) M. 176.
	Gilles Copenius de Diest. (1561) M. 178.
	Aegidius Diest. (1565) M. 182.
¹ Gilles Coppens (Aegidius) is found referred to as . . .	(opera) Aegidij Copenii Diestheñ . (1543) P. 16.
	Aegidij Copenij (1540) A. 31.
	Gilles de Diest (1544) A. 32.
	Aeg. Diesthemij (1545) A. 33.

The references are by no means exhaustive. We have here exactly the same phases as in the case of *Petrus Diesthemius*. The references also remove any possible doubt as to whether we are justified in overlooking the fact, as of no importance, that *Petrus Dorland*, in the evidence now available is called *Diestensis*, and not *Diesthemius*. Of course we have the proof before us that there is no distinction attached to the different forms of the name.

² 1461-1483. I have since found that Collier (Annals of the stage ed. 1831 I. 131) refers it to the same period : Some parts of its construction show it

the references and detailed proofs, promised in the first volume of his magnificent « Gesch. d. Engl. Lit. », have not yet appeared. It would be interesting to know what makes ten Brink fix upon that time.

No wonder then, if we have been gradually led back to that period, that the author, whoever he was, is still a devoted son of the Roman Catholic Church. In the later versions of the same theme such as the Hekastus,¹ heretical sympathies may here and there be discovered, but « Everyman » still looks upon *Good dedes* as the only way to salvation. Observe also his devotion to « Confession » and his disquisition on the priest as the only fit medium between God and Mankind. The author is very severe, however, on worthless priests. (El. 721-734.)

It cannot be our aim here to enlarge upon the place that the Everyman-Morality occupies in contemporary literature. The Miracle Plays,—those plays which many wrongly insist upon calling Mysteries — had already contained a great allegorical element and this had gradually gained the ascendancy. I recall this circumstance merely to point to the later offshoots of Elckerlijc-Everyman : the Latin and Dutch « Homulus, » as an interesting specimen when compared to our morality of what I would call *de-allegorisation*. Thus Elckerlijc asks his « Fellowship » to accompany him, — in the Homulus some friends introduced by name, and lively personages, no mere abstractions, have taken his place. Even from this point of view only, the play well deserves attention.

The ultimate sources of the matter have been treated of at length by Goedeke. For the question of the immediate source i. e. whether the Dutch text was the original of the English one or *vice versa* see the next section, of which we have already more or less been obliged to anticipate the result.

was written at a very early period, perhaps in the reign of Edward IV. Goedeke quotes this passage, but for all that refers it to the XVIth century!

¹ Heca || stus Macropedii, || fabula non minus pia quam || iucunda, in qua facinorosus quisque mortalium (dum || modo salutis sua^e rationem habebit) tanquam || in speculo quodam contemplari poterit, || quem admodum per Christum post || ueram suorum criminum poeni || tudinem ad beatam adeoque || laetam mortem per || ueniat. Woodcut (representing « Tempus » personified.) Excudebat Antverpiae || Michael Hillenius, in Rapo. Anno, || M. D. xli. (Copy in the Ghent University Library) An edition not known to Goedeke who however mentions (p. 214) earlier ones (1539 and 1540). and later editions.

IV. — ENGLANDS DEBT TO HOLLAND.

The history of the literary interrelations of England with the continent remains yet to be written. To a great extent it would be a history of English literature itself. Stripped bare of what it owes to France, Germany, Italy, etc. English Literature becomes a mere skeleton. I am not referring here to direct translations so much as to the borrowing of matter : I look more to the general influence on each other of the various European literatures than to isolated instances of faithful copying. But this is a onesided view. If English Literature borrowed from others, it also originated much which, but for it, would have remained unwritten. Shakespeare may owe his Hamlet to a foreign chronicler, his influence on the 17th century German and Dutch drama is admittedly very great.

In the 16th century — broadly speaking and including the later years of the 15th and the earlier years of the 17th centuries — Germany has greatly influenced England. German Lyrics and German Drama's were alike imitated there; the Magic element, the Fool-literature and the Literature of Grobianism, all representative of German thought in that period — when not of the whole of it — were more or less faithfully reproduced in contemporary England. This influence has comparatively recently been treated of in a remarkably attractive manner¹.

The work treats of the influence exercised on England only, not also, as the title might make one look forward to, of English influence on Germany. But if, on the one hand, it gives less than one looks for, there is quite a chapter which, I for one, should not have expected to find so silently incorporated in the body of the book. This is, where the author speaks of Dutch thought and Dutch literature as influencing England. This is the only unpleasant surprise that Prof. Herford springs upon

¹ My readers will at once have recognised whence I drew these general remarks. I cannot help expressing my admiration for Prof. Herford's Studies in the Literary relations of England and Germany in the sixteenth century, which when treating of a subject like the present is continually before one's mind. The book combines in a remarkable and quite exceptional manner, a great scientific value, and a most attractive manner of writing. It reads like a novel.

poor Dutchmen. It is high time that the isolated instances where Dutch influence may be traced should be gathered together. Years before the time that Macropedius with his *Asotus*, *Gnaphæus*¹ with his *Acolastus*, and Schonæus² with his Latin schooldramas found their way into England, we meet with a more isolated instance of translation from a Dutch work into English. In 1481, William Caxton stated in the Colophon to his *Reynard the Foxe*: I ... haue folowed as nyghe as I I can my copye whiche was in dutche. This « copye » was the now very rare ed. by Gheraert Leeu printed at Gouda in 1479³. Here, as in many other cases to be subsequently mentioned, the influence is one of translation only, but it comes home to us as a sort of renewal of former borrowings. Was not « Willem die Madoc maecte » not the ultimate, it is true, but still the indirect source of the greater part of the continental Reynaert-Literature? And Caxton himself must have been influenced by his long sojourn in the Netherlands.

And later on, in the sixteenth century, not only do translations appear of Marnix van S^t Aldegonde's powerful satyre against the Catholic Church⁴, not only does the latin school drama in England undergo the influence of its continental devotees, but popular literature itself cannot escape that influence. Allready in the first quarter of the 16th century the History of *Marieken van Nimmegen* was translated into English under the title: Here begynneth a littell story that was of a trewthe done in the lande of Gelders of a mayden that was named Mary of

¹ Both Macropedius — the author of the *Hekastus* — and Gnaphæus were Dutchmen. See on them Prof. Herford's work pp. 84 f. 108, 154; on Gnaphæus the recent ed. of his *Acolastus* by J. Bolte.

² See Herford p. 94 and Dr. A. H. Garret: Schonæus. *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Latijnsche school* (S. was a rector of that school) te Haarlem. 1889.

³ Never reprinted since the 2nd ed. of 1485, Delft. A new edition will shortly appear. See note 1 to p. XXIX.

⁴ The Beehive of the Romishe Churche. A worke of al good Catholikes too bee read and most necessary to bee vnderstood: Wherin both the Catholike Religion is substantially confirmed, and the Heretikes finely fetcht ouer the coales. Translated out of Dutch into English by George Gilpin the Elder. 1 Thess. 5. 21. Prooue all things, and keepe that which is good. Newly Imprinted with a table thereunto annexed. 1580. These books are to be solde in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Parret. — A copy in the Ghent University Library. Other editions are mentioned of 1578, 1598, and 1623.

Nemwegen that was the dyvels paramoure by the space of viii yere lang. Imprynted at Antwerpe by me John Duisbrowke¹. The Owlglasse literature may be ultimately of German origin, — the English version by Copland seems to be more directly due to a Dutch jestbook than a German one². For the later period the Granida³ and the Milton-Vondel question⁴ may be mentioned *pro memoria* only, along with the more recent influence that in very isolated cases the Dutch novel may have exercised⁵. Ever since 1481 therefore, traces of Dutch influence in various domains of Literature! The wonder is perhaps not that so much is found, but that no more has been discovered. Keeping in view the number of Flemings, then the bearers of Dutch civilisation, that crossed to England, ever since the days of Edward the third, we may safely expect that at some future time the historian of these literary relations will look with contempt on the pitifully meagre account here given⁶. Nor is it perhaps without significance that the theological element in this influence seems to predominate; it predominated in literature as it did in real life.

These considerations are the frame in which I wish to place a new

¹ The book seems to be very rare, as on the whole Jan van Doesborsch's works. There seems to be some ground to suppose that it was translated into English by Richard Arnold (See Dict. of Nat. Biogr. *in voce*). See Jahrbuch des Vereins für Niederdeutsche sprachforschung, XIII. 130. Another book, most likely also printed by Jan van Doesborsch at Antwerp about 1510 — whether from Flemisch or German seems uncertain; see *ibidem* — is the Parson of Kalenborow.

² See Herford p. 285 f. f. — The Fortunatus-chapbooks seem due to German, not to Dutch originals; ib. p. 405 f. — See for other possible traces of Dutch influence ib. p. 160 and E. stud. 9, 201 ff.

³ See Tijdschrift v/d Maatschappij v. Ned. Taal- en Letterk. x p. 286; it is a very doubtful case.

⁴ See Edmundson's book, and a recent study: A. Müller. Ueber Milton's Abhängigkeit von Vondel, Berlin 1891, which I have not yet seen.

⁵ I am here thinking of such modern novels as A. S. C. Wallis' (= Miss Opzoomer's) Vorstengunst, translated as Royal Favour.

⁶ I should add here that I do not claim exhaustiveness. It was not until quite recently that I had occasion to give especial attention to this subject and I have not had time to look round for further instances. Any additional information on this subject will be very thankfully accepted. The title of Coverdale's bible (1535) might seem to contain a hint of another case in point: Biblia, the Bible, that is the Holy scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and Newly translated out of the Doutche and Latyn into English, but Doutche here almost certainly means German.

picture. If my views with regard to the author and more especially the time when the Dutch text was written, should gain acceptance, we should have to place *Elckerlyc-Everyman* most probably before or at any rate about the same time as Caxton's Reynaert translation. The author and the date will be found enquired into in the third chapter. I have now to prove, that, whenever it may have been done, the Dutch text was translated into English and not *vice versa*.

This was also the conclusion to which Dr. Kalf had come. He founded his conclusion upon two arguments, viz. 1° the fact, that the English text, which contains the messenger's speech at the beginning and the doctour's speech at the end, and which is at the same time on the whole much more prolix, is *à priori* more likely to be the translation than the original on account of these very amplifications, and 2° that the English text shows lines, which seem to be unintelligible, whereas the corresponding passages in the Dutch text give perfect sense.

I agree with the author in thinking that these arguments will not suffice to bear out his contention. These general considerations do not seem to me to be very convincing. A look into our parallel text will show that in many cases El. expands as compared to Ev. which must make us cautious in drawing our conclusions. And why should not a translator have omitted passages in his original? *A priori* the one is as likely as the other¹. Moreover neither in the case of the English nor in that of the Dutch text do we know, whether older versions, now unknown, have not existed. We are, indeed, led to believe the contrary. Now, may not the prologue have existed in the Dutch texts?²

¹ What we want is an enquiry into the characters of such amplifications and omissions.

² The Prologus sive argumentum in the Latin text is very similar to the English messenger's speech, and as the Latin text is a translation from our Elckerlyc, I was at first inclined to look upon this circumstance as a welcome bit of evidence in favour of my hypothesis that a Dutch prologue may have existed. But two circumstances go against this view. The prologue is expressly said to be « per Ischyrium » and moreover the coincidence with regard to the contents is of course due to the nature of the drama's which are summed up in the English, as well as in the Latin prologue. So this one had decidedly no counterpart in the Dutch original. Again as the rime in the English prologue is different from that of the English text; as that of the English text corresponds more or less to

The second argument might seem to carry more weight. And it does so indeed if other instances can be found. The only one that Dr Kalff adduces seems, however, open to objection. Considering that El. 289 : *dattet bloet cruypet daert nient wel gaen en mach* is perfectly well rendered by Ev. 316 : *For kynde wyll crepe where it may not go* : it can not be said that he had settled that point.

However much I may have reason to differ from the particular points, brought forward by Dr Kalff, I believe that he is perfectly right with regard to his hypothesis as such. It will be attempted here to prove its truth.

Nothing seems to render this view impossible. We had reason to believe that B, the oldest Dutch text, was not the first ed. printed. As B. dates from about 1495, nothing would make it improbable that the older text (x) was printed say some fifteen or twenty years before. We found moreover¹ that the probable author of the Elckerlijc was born in 1454 which would make him about twenty three years when he wrote the Elckerlijc; and that Prof. ten Brink had — also independently,

that of the Dutch text; and as no plausible reason could be imagined why the English translator, or the Dutch author, should have made one part differ from an other part of their own work, whereas it is quite probable that the English translator should unconsciously deviate from the scheme in the text when going his own way for a prologue, — for all these reasons it seems safe to say that the Dutch text has had no prologue *which was in the copy upon which the English writer worked*. Still this does not make it a whit *more* likely that the English translated from the Dutch.

¹ See Towneley Mysteries, ed. Surtees Society p. 114 (l.l. 602, 603.) where the same proverb occurs. It is however interesting to see that a much closer rendering is given by Caxton, perhaps here as elsewhere under the influence of his original. See Reynard the Foxe ed. Arber p. 78 : *for blood must krepe where it can not go as a translation from the Dutch : want dat bloet moet crupen daert niet gheghaen en can* (p. 91 l. 4 of the forthcoming edition by Dr J. W. Muller and myself. The Latin text translates : *Quod et iam invitox natura pertrahit ad succurrendum B 5 (by mistake A 5) v^o.* [I quote the Latin text from the edition mentioned on p. xviii note 2; my intention was to add this *Homulus* to my ed. by way of appendix, if I could not find a periodical willing to take it up. But when I heard that the Latin « *Homulus* » was to be included in Dr Bolte's work — seep. xiv, note. — I abandoned that part of my plan. Dec. 16 '91.]

² I may explicitly state that the various items of my investigations bearing upon this question, have been arrived at independently of each other. This is important as it strengthens my case.

indeed years ago, — come to the conclusion that the English text was written in the reign of Edward IV, which is quite compatible with my view of the case, although it does not go against the idea that the Dutch should be the imitation and the English text the original. It may not be a very clinching argument, but it is perhaps worthwhile to point out that if the English were the original, the name of the author would be entirely unknown, whereas with regard to him who would then be the translator, a fair amount of information is available. For even if Petrus Dorlandus should not be = Petrus Diesthemius, the latter's name as that of the author seems certain. Now if Petrus Diesthemius were the translator, would the latin texts have spoken of « Petri Diesthemii Homulus? » One more consideration. The Latin text incontestably points to *Elckerlyc* or some such characteristic denomination as having been the title by which it was originally known. Now, this is found in the Dutch title: *esbamente op Elckerlijc mensche*, where, witness the word *mensche*, Elckerlijc is evidently the characteristic denomination referred to. It is not found in the English title, « every creature » not being so markedly *the* title. But it is found in the English text, e. g. l. 50 46, 62 etc, and of course everywhere as the name of the personage. This too, points to the Dutch text as being the original.

But these arguments constitute after all no proof. They may make the case more probable or less unlikely, but the burden of proof still remains on our shoulders. That proof can be given. A careful comparison of the two texts has given the result that, not in one, but in some cases the English text cannot be understood without the aid of the Dutch one, and that some passages can only be understood on the supposition that the English translator must have misconstrued his Dutch original.

This will here have to be laid down in detail. I may say that the aggregate weight of the following arguments in favour of my theory should be taken into account and not so much every item in particular. Many of them carry enough weight in themselves; others must only be regarded as corroborative of the more convincing ones.

1. El. 3. *Leeft wt vresen onbekent*; *wt* means: without, and *onbekent* either refers to *vresen* or to *Leeft* i. e. the phrase either = He lives without fear which he has (not un) acknowledged, or = He lives without fear without having confessed. In neither case is *be to me vnkynde* (Ev. 23) an exact translation. *Onbekent* has been mistaken by the

English translator for *vnkynde* = unfriendly, or (in the older sense) = unnatural. —

2. El. 57. *ick wil ter wereilt gaen regneren* = I shall go and *reign* in the world; the word *regneren* seems to have suggested the English *ren* (Ev. 72) which, although a construction might be put upon it (= I will *run* over the whole world) does not yield the same forcible meaning as the Dutch *to govern*. —

3. *en soudic niemant cleyn noch groot / Daer moghen leyden had ict te doene*. El. 136, 137. This is evidently the right sense. Hence the Latin (A 8 r°) very rightly translates : Sed fas ne est comitari quenquam, qui ... etc. i. e. may not somebody *accompany* me. On the same page a little lower down (in a passage which does not correspond to any one of the Elckerlije) Homulus again says : si quis fidus erit, qui me *comitetur* euntem. The english translation wrongly makes Everyman ask for a guide¹ : me to *lede* (Ev. 156.) It is a mere trick on Homulus' part when Ischyrius makes him plead (B. 2 v°) : *et itineris sum ignarus*; these words are only intended to excite pity. (the corresponding Du. text has : *mede te gaen*; El. 226) For nowhere does Everyman show not to know the way. In fact Homulus himself a little later on (B. 4) says : *via haec nota est*.

4. I have warned my readers against a too general application of the principle that the more expanded text is the imitation and the smaller one the original. Of course, as I then said it depends very much on the nature of the passages which are found is one text and not in the other. If we look at El. 209 and 210 and find that no corresponding lines are found in the English text, it would seem to prove for once the very contrary of the principle enunciated above, for here the more expanded text seems the original. For I can imagine that a sensible translator, and such the Englishman over and over again proves himself to be, should have been struck by the unhappy and unmeaning interruption of *Gheselscap*'s words, and that he should consequently have skipped them, merging Felawshyp's previous and subsequent speeches into one. But I cannot understand that an equally skilled translator should have committed the absurdity of interrupting Felaweshyp's speech, in order to insert that insipid sentiment that Elckerlije there delivers. Any one who wishes to convince himself that,

¹ Of course it does not invalidate this reasoning that Knowlege Ev. 522, offers to be a « guyde. »

if the Dutchman were the translator, he would not be capable of such a procedure, has but to compare two pages on the hypothesis that the English text is the original.

5. El. 237 ff. was evidently misunderstood by the English translator. These lines mean : I should certainly (have done so) but the road is so rough (wt ghesteken), for sooth (plats) with unevennesses (ronste = ronsen). See the Latin text : Ad nunc ista me terret formidolosa conditio Et ancipitis viarum anfractus. *Es wt ghesteken* was misunderstood here by the English translator, and translated as « set aside. »

6. *Ten is tot gheenre feesten te gaen / Noch tot gheerne sollen* : El. 324, 325. The word *sollen* = A kind of festivity, was liable to be unknown to the English translator, and it is just possible that *hence* he did not translate it.

7. *How shulde I be mery or gladde* Ev. 369, does not refer to anything in the English text. But the corresponding line El. 330 : *Hoe soude ick verbliden*, evidently refers to the second part of l. 329 : *Wi willen ons verblasen*. The Latin has (B 6 v°) *Recte quidem compreendinandum est.*

8. Lo now / I was deceyued or I was ware, Ev. 435 does not seem to refer to the preceding utterance of *Goodes*. But El. 404. *Ay lazen, ic ken dat waer is* are perfect, « acknowledging » as they do, that the assertion of « Goet » is « true ». *Waer* (true) seems to have been mistaken by the English translator as *ware* = aware.

9. *Men siet hier een letter niet die reyn is* (El. 471) says Elckerlijc talking of his account, i. e. Not a single letter seems clear. Ischyrius very properly translates : Nulla hic litera reperiri potest legibilis (C. 2 r°). The English text (l. 507) can hardly be construed into the same sense. The translator has evidently read : *Men siet hier een letter die niet reyn es*. The Dutch construction (where *niet* was only one place removed) allows much more easily of this mistake than the English text, where we should have to move *not* five places.

10. *die adam onterfde bi yeuen rade*. El. 554 = Ev. 585 *Whiche Adam forseyted by his dysobedyens*. It is possible that here again as in 5 the translator did not understand his original.

The form *yeuen* is stranger in *English* than in *Dutch*.

Once, in the York Plays VI. 69, I find a form closely resembling this one : *Giffe* = Eve. Holthausen (Herrig's Archiv vol 85, p. 412) has indeed tried to substitute an other word here, but the form is perfectly

legitimate¹. But the form seems rare enough to allow of a supposition that it has not been understood.

11. I think that *declare* in Ev. 622 was used under the influence of *clareren* in El. 597. *Declare* is indeed found = to announce (See Mätzner in voce). But in nearly all cases it is explained by *shewyng*; once it occurs as a translation of *dicitur*. Hence it is evident that the sense was: to show, to say; whereas *clareren* means, as is evident from the context, to announce publicly. Ischyrius properly enough translates *nuntiabo*.

12. Good dedes / have we clere oure rekenyng Ev. 652 is an evident translation from El. 626: Duecht hebdi ons rekeninghe clær; where *clær* is undoubtedly already = prepared. *Clere* does not occur in that signification. See note to El. 626.

13. El. 869: Daer wi alle moeten ghemeene / In comen groot en clene. Of course *moeten* means (where we all) may (come to gether, etc.). Hence the Latin text rightly has: Quo omnes vos peruenire *cupio* fœliciter. But the English translator took *moeten* in its more and more usual sense of *must*, translated it by *shall*, and feeling the absurdity of this, added: That lyueth well (901).

I hope that these arguments in their aggregate weight will be found sufficient to establish my point, whatever the objections be that might be argued against one or the other of them. In one or two cases, the supposition that the English text may be corrupt, would perhaps invalidate a particular argument. True, but others remain where that supposition is evidently inadmissible. And I am moreover sure that the arguments in favour of my contention are by no means exhausted. I venture to hope that a careful reader will find as many more. The fact is, that when one has been reading and studying a text over and over again, and when one has read it in proof some four or five times, one's critical instinct gets at last blunted, and I hence despair of finding any new arguments just yet. However, even without any further aid, I do not think it likely that the invalidation of one or the other of my baker's dozen supports will seriously affect the superstructure.

It only remains for me to acknowledge my best thanks to all, who have in any way assisted in making this edition attain to whatever degree of utility it may prove to possess. In the first and foremost place, I mention the name of A. W. Pollard Esq. M. A., of the British

¹ See Brome play of Abr. & Isaac 1 400 3ynd = end, etc.

Museum, whose services have already been hinted at in my Dedication. He offered to copy out (rather than collate with a copy of my own) the entire morality from the edition in M^r Huth's Library, and has been of the greatest use to me, in various other ways by placing what I must needs believe all his spare time at my disposal. I hope to have made it clear in that Dedication that it is not only in this instance that I have learned fully to appreciate the spirit of helpfulness with which I have found so very many Englishmen animated, — with which I have found myself confronted ever since I first ventured to come before the public.

My thanks are further due to A. H. Huth Esq^{re} of Bolney House, Ennismore Gardens, London; Wakefield Christie-Miller Esq^{re}, of Britwell Court, Bucks; and the authorities of the Brussels, Leiden and the Hague Libraries for the loan of their copies which they kindly allowed to be consulted at the British Museum or in the Ghent Library respectively; to my friend and colleague J. Vercoullie as well as to Prof. J. Verdam for much valuable aid when preparing the Dutch text for the press and to Dr Kalf, who was good enough to let me know where a copy of the Dutch text could be found. It was this gentleman whose article, quoted before, suggested the present work to me.

The courteous librarians of the Ghent University Library, Messrs Vanderhaeghen, Arnold and Vandenberghe, the learned editors of the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, were ever ready to aid me in my researches; the first has earned my gratitude and that of my readers by allowing the block of Vorsterman's mark to be here reproduced in facsimile. And I can end this list in no way more pleasing to myself, than by mentioning the services of one, who was never tired of transcribing and copying out for the press, whenever I needed it. I am thinking of M^r H. Logeman in connection with whose name all epithets would here be out of place.

ELCKERLIJCK
EVERYMAN

¶ Here begynneth a treatyse how the / hye fader
of heuen sendeth dethe / to somon every creature to /
come and gyue a counte / of theyr lyues in this / worlde
and is in maner of a morall / playe.



Pray you all gyue your audyence messengere
And here this matter with reurence
By fygure a morall playe (.)
The somonyng of eueryman called it is

5 That of our lyues and endynge shewes
How transytorie we be all daye
This matter is wonderous precyous
But the intente of it / is more gracyous
And swete to bere awaye
10 This story sayeth man in the begynnyng
Loke well and take good hede to the endynge
Be you neuer so gaye
Ye thynke synne in the begynnyng full swete
Whiche in the end causeth thy soule to wepe
15 Whan the body lyeth in claye
Here shall you se how felawshyp and iolyte
Bothe strengthe / pleasure / and beaute
Wyll vade from the as floure in maye
For ye shall here / how our heuen kenge
20 Calleth eueryman to a generall rekenyng
Gyue audyens and here what he wyll saye

Title in L : Den spyghel der salicheyt van / elckerlijc Hoe dat elckerlijc
mnesche wert / ghedaecht gode rekeninghe te doen / H., which underlines
the title in red. adds : van sinen wercken.

7 wonderous] L : wonders ; 8 intente] L : entent ; 10 This] L : The ;
18 vade] L : fade ; 21 wyll] L. doth.

¶ *God speketh.*

God. ¶ I perceyue here in my maiestye
How that all creatures / be to me vnykynde
Lyuynge without drede / in worldely prosperetye (.)
25 Of ghostly syght / the people be so blynde
Drowned in synne / they know me not for ther god
In worldely ryches is all theyr mynde
They fere not my ryghtwysenes / that sharpe rod
My lawe that I shewed / whan I for them dyed
30 They forgot clene / *and* sheddynge of my blod so redde
I hanged bytwene two theues / it cannot be denied
To get them lyfe I suffrede to be deed
I heled theyr fete / with thornes hurt was my heed
I coulde do nomore than I dyde truely
35 And now I se the people do clene forsake me
They vse the seuen deadly synnes dampnable
As prude / couetyse / wrathe / and lechery
Now in the worlde be made commendable

28 that] L : *the*; 30 forgot] L. forgete; so] not in L; 31 theues] not in L; this is the last line of the page; in the bottom : The summenyng^e
A ij.

(A. 2. r°.) ¶ *Hier beghint een schoon boecxken ghe/maeckt in den maniere van eenen speele. / ofte esbamente op elckerlijc mensche / Ende in den eersten spreeckt god almachtich aldus*



ck sie bouen wt mijnen throne
dat al dat is int smenschen persone
Leeft wt vresen onbekent
Oec sie ic tvolc also verblent

5 In sonden si en kennen mi niet voer god
Opten aertschen scat sijn si versot.
dien hebben si voer gode vercoren
ende mi vergheten die hier te voren
die doot heb geleden door tsmenschen profijt

10 Och houaerdie ghericheyt ende nijt
Metten . vij . dootsonden ver moghen
Hoe sidi ter werelt nv voert ghetoghe
Want mits der . vij . dootsonden gemeen
es op ghedaen des ick in ween
(A. 2. v°.)

Title.] The whole of it is underlined (red) in H.; den maniere] B, H : een maniere ; esbamente] B : batimente, H : esbamente ; mensche and almachtich] not in B ; The large initial I which extends over four lines in L. is not found in B nor in H, but in either space has been left open (for rubrication?). 6 si] B : si so. 9 die] H : de. 10 die] latter part of houaerdie repeated in L; 12 ghetoghe] probably a misprint, B. H: getogen. 13 gemeen] L : gemeen. ; 14 in] L : in? ui? B, H : in.

And thus they leue of aungeles the heuenly company

40 Eueryman lyueth so after his owne pleasure
 And yet of theyr lyfe they be not sure
 I se the more that I them forbere
 The worse they are from yere to yere
 All that lyueth apperyth faste

45 Therfore I wyll in all the haste
 Haue a rekenyng of euery mannes persone
 For and I leue the people thus allone
 In theyr lyfe and wycked tempestes
 Verely they wyll be cume moche worse than bestes

50 For now one wolde by enuy another vp ete
 Charyte they all do clene forgete

I hoped well that eueryman
 In my glorye shulde make his mansyon
 And therto I had them all electe

55 But now I se that lyke traytours deiecte
 They thanke me not for the pleasure *that I to them ment*
 Nor yet for theyr beyng that I them haue lente
 I profered the people great multytude of mercy
 And fewe there be that asketh it hertely

60 They be so cumbred with worldly ryches
 That nedes on them I must do iustyce

41 not] L : nothyng ; 43 are] L : be ; 51 all do] L : do all ; 55 that] not in L.

15 Ben seker met alder hemelscher scaren
 Dye · vij · duechden dye machtich waren
 Syn alle verdreuen ende veriaecht
 Want donnosel heeft my seer gheclaecht
 Elckerlijc leeft nu buyten sorghen.

20 Nochtan en weten si ghenen morghen
 Ick sie wel hoe ic tvolc meer spare
 Hoet meer arghert van iare te iare
 Al dat op wast arghert voert
 Daerom wil ic nu als behoert

25 Rekenninghe van elckerlijc ontsaen
 Want liet ic dye werelt dus langhe staen
 In desen leuen in deser tempeesten
 Tvolc souden werden argher dan beesten
 Ende souden noch deen den anderen eten

30 Myn puer gheloue is al vergheten
 Dat ic hem seluen gheboot te houden
 Het crancet het dwijnt het staet te couden
 Daer ic so minlijc om stierf die doot
 Ontsculdich sonder bedwanc oft noot

35 Omdat ick hoepte dat si bi desen
 (A. 3. r^o.)
 Mynder eeuwigher glorien ghebrukich souden wesen
 Daer icse seer toe hadde vercoren
 Nu vindt ick dattet als is verloren
 Dat icse so costelic hadde ghemeent

40 Hoe menich goet ic hem vry heb verleent
 Wt mynder ontfermherticheydens tresoor
 Dat hem recht toe hoort nochtans synse soe door
 Ende verblent int aertsche goet
 Als dat iusticie wercken moet

16 Dye] B : De. 18 heeft] B : heeft. 22 arghert] B : arget. 24 als]
 B : alst. 26 staen] L : staen. ; 28 werden argher] B : erger worden. 32 crancet]
 L : branct; B. H : crancet; dwijnt] B : duynt. 33 die] H : de; with this line
 signature a ij(v^o) ends in B, and signature a iij is missing. 36 souden wesen
 are found in L as though a separate line. Consequently *ghebrukich* has a full
 stop behind it. 38 als] H : al. 40 verleent] L : verleent.

On eueryman lyuynge without feare
 Where art thou deth ^u y myghty messengere

¶ *Deth.*

¶ Almyghty god I am here at your wyll
 65 Your commaundemente to fulfull
God. ¶ Go thou to eueryman
 And shew hym in my name
 A pylgrymage / he must on hym take
 Which he in no wyse may escape
 70 And that he brynghe with hym a sure rekenynghe
 Without delay or ony taryenge

Deth. ¶ Lorde I wyll in the worlde go ren ouer all
 And truely out serche bothe great and small
 Eueryman I wyll be set that lyueth beestly
 75 Out of goddes lawes / and dredeth not foly
 He that loueth ryches I wyll stryke with my darte
 His syght to blynde / and from heuen depart
 Excepte that almes dedes be his good frende
 In hell for to dwell / worlde without ende (.)
 80 Loo / yonder I se eueryman walkynge
 Full lytell he thynketh on my cummynge
 His mynde is on flesshely lustes / and his treasure
 And great Payne / it shall cause hym to endure
 Before the lorde heuen kynge
 85 Eueryman / stonde stylly / whether arte ^u y goynge
 Thus gayly Hast thou thy maker forgot

68 ^u y] L : thou ; 73 truely] L : cruelly ; 74 I wyll] L : will I ; 77 depart]
 L : to depart ; 78 almes dedes] L : almes ; 85 whether] L : whyder.

45 Aen elckerlijc die leeft so onveruaert (.)
 Waer sidi mijn doot die niemant en spaert
 Coemt hier hoort wat ic v sal vermonden

Die doot

Tuwen beueele in allen stonden
 Almachtich god segt v beheet

God spreect

50 Gaet hene tot elckerlijc ghereeet
 Ende segt hem van mynen tweghen saen
 (A. 3. v^o.)
 Dat hi een' pelgrimagie moet gaen.
 die niemant ter werelt en mach verbi
 ende dat hi rekeninghe come doen mi.
 55 Sonder vertrec dats mijn ghebot

¶ Die doot

Het wert ghedaen almachtich god
 ick wil ter werelt gaen regneren.
 Oeck sal ic rasschelijc sonder cesseran
 Tot elckerlijc gaen hi leeft so beestelic
 60 Buten gods vreese ende alte vreeslick
 Voer god aenbidt hi deertsche goet
 Daer wil ic tot hem gaen met snellen keere.

Hi coemt hier gaende (.) help god heere
 Hoe luttel vermoet hi op myn komen.

65 Ay elckerlijc v wert saen benomen
 Dat ghi houden waent seer vast
 Ghi sult staen tot swaren last
 Voor gode almachtich ende buten seghe
 Elckerlijc waer sidi op weghe
 70 Dus moey (.) hebdi al gods vergheten.
 (A. 4. r^o.)

45 elckerlijc] L : elcktrlijc, H : elckerlijc. 59 beestelic] H : beestlic.
 64 vermoet] H : vermoeyt. 68 Here signature a iiiij begins in B.

¶ *Eueryman*

¶ Why askest thou
Woldest thou wete

Deth. ¶ Ye syr I wyll shew you
90 In great hast I am sende to the
From god out of his maiestye

euery man ¶ What / sende to me

Deth. Ye certaynly
Though thou haue forgete hym here
95 He thynketh on the in the heuenny spere
As or we departe thou shall knowe

euery man ¶ What desyreth god of me

Deth. ¶ That shall I shewe the
A rekenyng he wyll nedes haue
100 Without lenger respyte

euery man. ¶ To gyue a rekenyng longer layser I craue
This blynde mater trubleth my wytte.

Deth. ¶ On the thou must take a longe Iourney
Therfore thy boke of counte *with* the thou bryngē
105 For turne agayne thou can not by no waye
And loke thou be sure of thy rekenyng

92 sende] L : sente ; 93 Last line of signature A iij . At the bottom : *The somonyng* ; 96 shall] L : shalte ; 100 lenger.] L : any lenger.

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Waerbi vraechdijs

¶ *Die doot*

Dit suldi wel weten

Wilt na mi hooren te desen stonden

Naerstich bin ic aen v ghesonden

Van gode wt des hemels pleyn

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Aen my ghesonden

¶ *Die doot*

75 Jae ick certeyn

Al hebdi sijns vergheten alst blijct

Hi peynst wel om v in sijn rijck.

Alsoe ick v sal voer oghen legghen

Elckerlijc

Wat begheert god van my

Die doot

Dat sal ick di segghen

80 Rekenninghe wilt hi van v-ontfaen

Sonder eenich verdrach

(A. 4. v°.)

Elckerlijc

Hoe sal ic dat verstaen

Rekenninghe wat salt bedien

Die doot

Al gheuet v vreemt het moet geschieden

Oec moetti aen nemen sonder verdrach

85 Een pelgrimage die niemand en mach

Wederkeeren in gheender manieren

Brengt v gheschriften ende v pampieren

79 di] B : v ; D. s. i. d. s.] H : Dat s. i. segghen di. 80 ontfaen] L :
 ontfaen.; 81 Sonder eenich verdrach] These words are crossed out in H.
 by I. C. 82 bedien] B. H : bedieden; 85 mach] L : mach.; B, H : mach.
 85 en] not in B. 87 v (second)] not in B. 87 pampieren] L : pampieren..

For before god shalte thou answere and shewe
 Thy many badde dedes and good but a fewe
 How thou hast sped thy lyfe and in what wyse
 110 Before the chefe lorde of paradyse
 Haue a do that we were in that waye
 For wete ^u well thou shalte make none attournay

euery man ¶ Full unredy I am suche rekenyng to gyue
 I knowe the not what messanger arte thou

Deth. 115 ¶ I am deth that no man dredeth
 For eueryman I rest and none spareth
 For it is goddes commaundement
 That all to me sholde be obeyent

euery man ¶ O deth thou cummest whan I had *the* leest in mynde
 120 In thy power it lyeth me to saue
 Yet of my good wyll I gyue the yf ye wyll be kynde
 Ye a thousande pounde shalte thou haue
 And dyfferre this mater tyll another daye.

Deth. ¶ Euery man it may not be by no waye
 125 I set not by golde syluer nor rychesse
 Ne by'pope / emperoure / kynge / duke / ne prynces
 For and I wolde receyue gestes great

107 shalte thou] L : thou shalt ; 111 a do that] L : I do ; 113 rekenyng] H : rekenyng ; 116 none] L : no man ; 119 whan] H : what ; 121 ye] L : thou.

Met v ende ouersietse bedachtich
 Want ghi moet voer god almachtich
 90 Rekeninghe doen des seker sijt
 Ende hoe ghi bestaet hebt uwen tijt
 Van uwen wercken goet ende quaet
 Oeck en hoert hier gheen verlaet
 Van dien als nu het moet wesen
 95 Ende oec het moet nv gheschien.

Elckerlijc

Daer op ben ic nv al qualic versien
 Rekeninghe te doen voer gode bloot
 (A. 5. r^o.)
 Wie bist du bode

Die doot

Ick ben die doot die niemant en spaert.
 100 Maer elckerlyck sal bi
 Gods beueele doen rekeninghe mi

Elckerlijc

Och doot sidi mi soe bi
 Als icker alder minst op moede.
 Doot wildi van mi hebben goede
 105 Duysent pont sal ic v gheuen
 Op dat ic behouden mach mijn leuen
 Ende doet verdrach van desen

Die doot

Elckerlijc dat en mach niet wesen.
 Ick en aensie goet schat noch haue
 110 Paeus hertoghe coninc noch graue
 En spare ic niet nae gods ghedien
 Waer ic met schatte te verleeden

88 ouersietse] B : onersietse, H : ouersietse, L : ouersietste. 91 bestaet]
 B : besteet. 93 verlaet] L : verlaet.; 95 This line is not found in B. 96 B ;
 Daer b. i. al noch q. o. v.; nv] H : noch. 98 bist du] B, H : bistu. 101 doen
 rekeninghe] B : r. d. 102 sidi] B : hoe sijdi. 107 doet] B. H : doet mi
 een. 111 ghedien] B : ghebieden, H : gebieden.

All the worlde I myght gete

All my custome is clene contrary

130 I gyue the no respyte come hens and not tary

euery man

¶ Alas shall I haue no longer respyte
 I may saye deth geueth no warnynge
 To thynke on the it maketh my herte secke
 For all vnredy is my boke of rekenyng

135 But. xii. yere and I myght haue a hydynge
 My countynge boke I wolde make so clere
 That my rekenyng I sholde not nede to fere
 Wherfore deth I praye the for goddes mercy
 Spare me tyll I be prouyded of remedy

Deth. 140 ¶ The auayleth not to crye wepe and praye
 But hast the lyghtly that th y were gone *the Journaye*
 And proue thy frendes yf thou can
 For wete you well the tyde abydeth no man
 And in the worlde eche lyuynge creature

145 For adams synne must dye of nature
eueryman ¶ Deth yf I sholde this pylgrymage take
 And my rekenyng surely make
 Shewe me for saynt charyte
 Sholde I not come agayne shortly

Deth. 150 ¶ No eueryman and thou be ones there
 Thou must neuer more come here
 Trust me veryly

129 All] L : But; 142 proue] L : preue; 143 you] L : thou; 151 must]
 L : mayst.

Ick ereghen wel alder werelt goet

Nu houtet al met mi den voet

(A. 5. v^o.)

115 Oec en' gheue ic wtstel noch verdrach

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Allendich arm katijf o wach

Nv en weet ick mijns selfs ghenen raet

Van rekenninghe te doen . myn pampier

Es so verwerret ende so beslet

120 Ic en sier gheen mouwen toe gheset

So is mijn herte om desen in vaer.

Och mocht ic noch leuen · xij · iaer

So soudic mijn gheschrifte exponeren

ende oversien (.) wilt doch cesseren

125 Als nv lieue doot van wraken

Tot dat ic versien bin op die saken

Dat bid ic doer gods ontfermen

¶ *Die doot*

V en mach baten smeken oft kermen

Dus siet wat v staet te beghinnen

Elckerlijc

130 Lieue doot een sake doet mi bekennen

Al yst dat ic dese vaert moet aengaen

(A. 6. r^o.)

Soudic niet moghen wederkeeren saen

Alsic myn rekeninghe hadde ghestelt

¶ *Die doot*

Neen ghi nemmermeer

114 houtet] B : Houwet. 115 wtstel noch] B : vtstelsel of. 117 raet] L : raet. 127 bid ic] bid not in L; B. H : bid ic v; 129 With this line the verso of signature a v ends, and signature a vj is wanting so that a gap occurs here.

every man ¶ Gracyous god in hye sete celestyall
 Haue mercy on me in this moost nede
 155 Shall I haue no company fro this vale terestyall
 Of myne aqueyntaunce that waye me to lede

Deth. ¶ Ye yf ony be so hardy
 That wolde go with the / and bere the cumpany
 Hye the that ^u were gone to goddes magnyfycens
 160 Thy rekenyng to gyue before his presence
 What / wenest thou thy lyfe is gyuen the
 And thy wordely gooddes also

Eueryman ¶ I had wende so verely

Deth. ¶ Ney nay / it was but lend the
 165 For as sone as thou arte go
 A nother a whyle shall haue it / and than go ther fro
 Euen as thou hast done
 Eueryman thou arte mad / *that* hast thy wyttes fyue
 And here on erth / wyll not amende thy lyue
 170 For sodenly I do cume.

every man ¶ Oo / wretched caytyfe whether shall I flee
 That I myght scape this endles sorow
 Now gentyll deth spare me tyll to morow
 That I may amende me

175 With good aduysemente.

Deth. ¶ Nay thereto I wyll not consent

153 Gracyous] L : O gracyous ; hye] L : the hye ; 155 terestyall] L : terestryall ; 156 aqueyntaunce] L : acqueynce ; 157 Deth] In I it stands on l. 156 ; 168 Eueryman] H : Euenyman, L : Everyman ; *that*] L : thou.

Elckerlijc

Almoghende gods ghewelt

135 Wilt mijns ontfermen in deser noot
en soudic niemant cleyn noch groot
Daer moghen leyden had ict te doene

¶ Die doot

Jae ghi waer yemant so koene

dat hi die vaert met v bestonde (.)

140 Spoet v want god die alle gronde
doersiet met sinen godliken oghen
Begheert dat ghi voer hem coemt toghen
V rekenninghe van dat ghi hebt bedreuen
Wat meendi dat v hier is ghegheuen

145 Tleuen op daerde ende tijtlijc goet

¶ Elckerlijc

Ay lazen dat waendick

(A. 6. v^o.)

Die doot

Hoe sidi aldus onvroet

Elckerlijc daer ghi hebt vijf sinnen

Dat ghi soe onsuuer sijt van sinnen

Ende ic so haestelijc come onuersien

¶ Elckerlijc

150 Allendich katijf waer sal ic vlien
Dat ic af quame deser groter sorghen
Lieue doot verdraghet mi tot morghen
Dat ic mi bespreken mach van desen

¶ Die doot

Dat en wil ic niet conserveren in desen

135 ontfermen in] H : ontfermiēn; 137 ict] H : icx. 138 koene] L : koene. 145 tijtlijc] H : tijtelijc. 146 dat] H. wat. 148 van sinnen] Crossed out in H. and H. i. C. adds : van bynnen. 152 morghen] L : morghen.; 154 in desen] Crossed out in H. and H. i. C. adds : wezen.

Nor noman wyll I respyte
 But to the harte sodenly I shall smyte
 Without any aduysement

180 And now out of syght I wyll me hye
 Se thou make the redy shortly
 For thou mayst saye this is the day
 That no man lyuyng may scape awaie

every man ¶ Alas I may well wepe with syghes depe

185 Now haue I no maner of cumpany
 To helpe me in my iourney / *and* me to kepe
 And also my wrytyng is full vnredy
 How shall I do now / for to excuse me
 I wolde to god I had neuer be gete

190 To my soule a great profyte it had be
 For now I fere paynes huge and great
 The tyme passeth / lorde helpe that all wrought
 For though I mourne it aualeth nought
 The day passeth / and is almost ago

195 I wot not well what to do
 To whome were I best my complante to make
 What and I to felawshyp therof spake
 And shewed hym of this sodayne chaunce
 For in hym is all myne affyance
 200 We haue in the worlde so many a daye
 Be good frendes in sporte and playe
 I se hym yonder cartaynely
 I truste that he wyll bere me cumpany

180 of] L : of thy ; 190 great] L : full grete ; 195 to] L : for to.

155 Noch en doe icx niet in gheender tijt.

Ick slae den sulcken terstont int crijt

Sonder voer raet met eenen slach.

Aldus bereyt v in desen dach

Ick wil wt uwen oghen vertrecken

160 Siet dat ghi v naerstelic gaet betrecken

Te segghen nv coemt den dach

Die elckerlijc niet voer bi en mach

(A. 7. r°.)

Elckerlijc

Ay elckerlijc wat dede ic ye gheborn

Ick sie mijn leuen al verloren

165 Nu ic doen moet dese langhe vaert

Daer ic so qualic teghen ben bewaert

Ic en hebbe noyt goet bedreuen

Aldus heb ic seer luttel ghescreuen

Hoe sal ic mi excuseren int clae

170 Ey lacen ic woude dat ic nv niet en waer

Dat waer mijnder sielen groot toeverlaet

Waer mach ic nv soecken troost of raet

God die heere die alle dinc voersiet

Dat ic veel claghe ten helpt niet

175 Den tijt gaet verre tes nae noene

Ay lasen wat staet mi nv te doene

Wien mocht ic claghen dese sake

Laet sien oft ic mijn gheselscap sprake

ende leyde hem te voren om mede te trecken.

180 Soudt hijt mi ontseggen (.) neen hi ick wane

Wi hebben ter werelt in onsen daghen

(A. 7. v°.)

So groten vrientscap tsamen gedraghen

Want ic betrou hem alder duecht

ick sien des bin ic rechts verhuecht

160 With this line B. begins (signature a vij). 163 dede] B : de. 167 noyt]

B : 't werelt nie. 170 dat] not in B. 172 mach ic] B : mochtic. 179 te

voren] B : voer ogen. 183 betrou] L. betron; B. H : betrou; 184 rechts]

B : recht; verhuecht] H : verhuescht.

Therfore to hym wyll I speke to ease my sorow
 205 Well met god felawshyp and good morowe.

¶ *Felawshyp speketh.*

Felawe. ¶ Eueryman good morowe by this daye
 Syr why lokest thou so pyteously
 If any thyng be amys / I pray the me saye
 That I may helpe to remedy

euery man 210 ¶ Ye good felawshyp ye
 I am in greate ieoparde

Felawe. ¶ My true frende / shew to me your mynde
 I wyll not forsake the / vnto my lyues ende
 In the way of good cumpany

euery man 215 ¶ That is well spoken and louyngly

Felawe. ¶ Syr I must nedes know your heuynes
 I haue pytye to se you in any destresse
 If any haue you wronged ye shall reuenged be
 Though I on the grounde be slayne for the
 220 Though that I knowe before that I shulde dye

euery man ¶ Veryly felawshyp gramercy

Felawe. ¶ Tusshe / be thy thankes I set not a straw

206 Felawe] L : felawship ; 213 vnto] L : to ; 215 euery man
 H : euery . man ; is] L : was ; 222 be] L : by.

185 Oec wil ic hem toespreken sonder verdrach.

Goeden dach gheselscap

Gheselscap

Elckerlijc goeden dach

Moet v god gheuen ende ghesonde .

Hoe siedi dus deerlic doet mi orconde

Hebdi yet sonderlings dat v let

Elckerlijc

Jae ick gheselscap

Gheselscap

190 Achermen hoe sidi dus ontset

Lieu elckerlijc ontdeckt mi uwen moet

Ic blie v bi tot in die doot

Op goet gheselscap ende trou ghesworen

Elckerlijc

O ghi segt wel gheselscap

Want tes verloren

(A. 8. r^{o.},)

Gheselscap

195 Ick moet al weten v druc v lijden

een mensche mocht druc wt v snyden.

Waer v mesdaen ic helpt v wreken

Al soudicker bliuen doot ghesteken

Ende ick wiste te voren

Elckerlijc

Danc hebt gheselscap

Gheselscap

200 Ghenen danck een haer

188 orconde] B : de conde ; 190 gheselscap] H. 1. C. adds : weesty niet bet ; 191 uwen moet] L : mynen moet, B : uwen moet ; Crossed out in H. and H. 1. C. adds : uwe mo ~, which is again crossed out and for which is substituted : uwe noot ; 194 O] not in H : this would be the first line of signature a vijf which is wanting in B ; verloren] H 1 C. adds : in dese ' tyde ' ; want] L : wat ; 197 wreken] L : wrekev ; H : wreken ; 199 gheselscap] H n C. adds : voerwaer.

Shewe me your grefe / and say no more

every man ¶ Yf I my herte shulde to you breke
 225 And than you to turne your mynde from me
 And wold not me conforte / when you here me speke
 Than shulde I ten tymes soryer be

Felawe. ¶ Syr I say as I wyll do in dede

every man ¶ Than be you a good frende at nede
 230 I haue founde you true here before

Felawe. ¶ And so ye shall euermore

For in fayth and thou go to hell
 I wyll not forsake the by the waye

everyman ¶ Ye speke lyke a good frende / I beleue you well
 235 I shall deserue it and I maye

Felawe. ¶ I speke of no deseruyng / by this daye
 For he that wyll saye / and nothyng do
 Is not worthy with good company to go
 Therfore shew me the grefe of your mynde
 240 As to your frende moste louyng and kynde

every man ¶ I shall shewe you how it is

226 when you] L : whan ye.

Daerby segt mi v doghen

Elckerlijc

Gheselle oft ick v leyde voer oghen

ende v dien last viel te swaer

Dan soude ic mi meer bedroeuen daer

205 Maer ghi segt wel god moets v lonen

Gheselscap

Way ic meyne al sonder honen.

Elckerlijc

Ghi segt wel bouen screue

(A. 8. v^o.)

Ic en vant noyt anders aen v dan trouwe

Gheselscap

So en suldi oeck nemmermeer.

Elckerlijc

God loons v ende ons vrouwe

210 Gheselle ghi hebt mi wat verhuecht

Gheselscap

elckerlijc en sijt niet versaecht

Ick gae met v al waert in die helle

Elckerlijc

Ghi spreect als een gheselle

Ic sal v dancken als ic best kan

Gheselscap

215 Daer en is gheen dancken aen

Diet niet en dade in wercken aenschijn

Hi en waer niet waert gheselle te sijn

Daer om wilt mi uwēn last ontdecken

Als ghetrouwe vrient

Elckerlijc

Ick salt v vertrecken

(B. 1. r^o.)

206 Way H : Wa ; 211 en sijt niet versaecht] Crossed out in H ; H 1 C.
 adds : dat is (?) u doeht ; 213 gheselle] H : goet gheselle ; 216 aenschijn]
 L : aenschijn . . 218 ontdecken] L : ontdecken . . 219 Ick — vertrecken]
 With this part B. begins again (signature b).

Commaunded I am to go a iournaye
 A longe waye / herde and daungerous
 And gyue a strayte counte without delaye
 245 Before the hye Iuge adonay
 Wherfore I pray you / bere me company
 As ye haue promysed in this iournaye

Felawe. ¶ That is matter in dede / promyse is duyte
 But *and* I shulde take suche a vyage on me
 250 I know it well / it shulde be to my Payne
 Also it maketh me aferde certayne
 But let vs take councell here as we can
 For your wordes wold feare a stronge man

every man ¶ Why / ye sayd yf I had nede
 255 Ye wolde me neuer forsake / quycke ne deed
 Though it were to hell truely

Felawe. ¶ So I sayde certeynly
 But suche pleasures be set asyde / the sothe to say
 And also yf we toke suche a iournay
 260 Whan shulde we cume agayne

every man ¶ Nay / nyuer agayne / tyll the day of dome

Felawe. ¶ In fayth than wyll not I cume there

251 maketh] L : make; 252 as] L : as well as; 259 we] Hawkins —
 Hazlitt reads *ye* but L has *we*.

220 Hier nu seker al sonder veysen
 Mi es beuolen dat ic moet reysen
 Een grote vaert hardt ende stranghe
 Oec moetic rekeninge doen bi bedwange
 Voer den hoochsten coninc almachtich
 225 Nu bid ic v dat ghi zijt bedachtich
 Mede te gaen so ghi hebt beloeft

Gheselscap

Dats wel blikelic
 Die ghelofte houdic van waerden
 Mer soudic sulcken reyse aenuaerden
 230 Om beden wille mi souts verdrieten
 Ic soude van deser gheruchte verscieten
 Mer doch willen wi dbeste doen
 Ende ons beraden

Elckerlijc

Och hoort doch dit sermoen
 Seydi mi niet had icx noot
 235 Mede te gaen tot in der hellen doot
 Oft in die helle had ict begaert.
 (B. 1. v°.)

Gheselscap

Dat soudic seker (.) maer sulc gheuaert
 Es wt ghesteken plats metten ronsten (.)
 om waer seggen of wi die vaert begonsten
 240 Wanneer souden wij weder comen na desen

Elckerlijc

Daer en is gheen weder keeren

Gheselscap

So en wil icker niet wesen

227 H. crosses this line out and H 1 C adds : dat en is (?) geen ' d (.... cut off); 229 sulcken] B : selken; 231 deser] B. H : desen; 232 doch] B : toch; 233 Ende ons beraden] Crossed out in H. hoort] B : hoor; 236 ict begaert] B: icx begeert; 237 sulc gheuaert] B : selc geueert; 239 die] B. H : de; 240 desen] Crossed out in H. and H 1 C. adds : deeren (?).

Who hath you these tdynges brought

euery man ¶ In dede deth was with me here

Felawe. 265 ¶ Now by god that all hath bought
 If deth were the messengere
 For no man that is lyuynge to daye
 I wyll not go that lothesom iournay
 Not for the father that begat me

euery man 270 ¶ Ye promysed me other wyse parde

Felawe. ¶ I wot well I sayd so truely
 And yet / yf ^uylte ete *and* drynke *and* make good chere
 Or haunte to women / that lusty company
 I wolde not forsake you / whyle the daye is clere
 275 Truste me veryly

euery man ¶ Ye therto ye wolde be redy
 To go to myrthe / solace / and playe
 Your mynde to folye wyll soner aply
 Than to bere me cumpany in my longe iourney

Felawe. 280 ¶ Nay in good faythe / I wyll not that waye
 But and thou wylte murdre / or any man kyll
 In that I wyl helpe the / with a good wyll

euery man ¶ O that is a symple aduyse in dede
 Gentyll felawe helpe me in my necessytye

268 lothesom] L : lothe; 270 me] not in L; 273 that] L : the ; 278 to
 folye] not in L; 280 Nay] L : now; 281 wylte] L : wyll; 282 wyl] H is
 very difficult to read; probably printed *wyll*.

Wie heeft v die bootscap ghebracht

Elckerlijc

Ay lazen die doot

Gheselscap

Help heylighe gods crachte

Heeft die doot gheweest die bode

245 Om al dat leuen mach van gode
en ghinc icker niet mocht icx voerbi

Elckerlijc

Ghi seydet mi nochtans toe

Gheselschap

(B. 2. r°.)

Dat kenne ick vry

Waert te drincken een goet ghelaghe

Ick ghinc met v totten daghe

250 Oft waert ter kermissen buten der stede
Oft daer die schone vrouwen waren

Elckerlijc

Daer ghingdi wel mede

Waert altoos met ghenuechten te gaen

Soe waerdi bereet

Gheselschap

Hier en wil ic niet mede god weet

Maer woudi pelgrimagie gaen

255 Oft woudi yemant doot slaen
Ic hulpen ontslippen tot in die broock
ende oec clouen ontween

Elckerlijc

Och dat is een sober bescheen

Gheselle ghi wilt anders dan ick

243 doot] H 1 C adds : o wach ; gods] B : goeds ; 247 seydet] B : seyel ;
vry] H 1 C adds : doe ; 251 mede] H 11 C. or 1 C. adds : sonder faren ;
256 ontslippen — broock] crossed out in H, and H 11 (?) C. adds : beet ē ?...
(cut off.) ee'st (cut off.) B : broec ; oec] not in B ; 258 bescheen] B : be-
scheet ; 259 Gheselle — noot is] crossed out in H ; 259 anders] B : al anders.

285 We haue loued longe and now I nede
 And now gentyll felawshyp remembre me

Felawe. ¶ Whether ye haue loued me or no
 By saynt Johñ I wyll not with the go

euery man ¶ Yet I pray the take the laboure *and* do so moche for me
 290 To brynge me forwarde for saynt charyte
 And conforte me tyll I come without the towne

Felawe. ¶ Nay and thou wolde gyue me a new gowne
 I wyll not one fote with the goo
 But and ^uhad taryed I wolde not a left the so
 295 And as now god spedethe in thy iourney
 For from the I wyll departe as fast as I may

euery man ¶ Whether awaye felawshyp / wylt ^uy forsake me

Felawe. ¶ Ye by my faye / to god I betake the
euery man ¶ Farwell good felawshyp for the my herte is sore
Felawe. 300 ¶ Adewe for I shall neuer se the no more

euery man ¶ In fayth eueryman farewell now at the ende
 For you I wyll remembre *that* partynge is mournyng

293 one] L : a ; 294 a left] L : haue lefte ; 300 I shall neuer] L: euer
 I shall ; In L : line 300 is spoken by *Eueryman*, and lines 301-302 by
Felawshyp ; 301 farewell] L : fare well.

260 Alst noot is

Gheselle peyst om trouwe die groot is

(B. 2. v^o.)

Die wi deen den anderen beloeft hebben

Ouer menich iaer

Gheselscap

Trou hier trou daer

265 Ic en wilder niet aen (·) daer mede gesloten

Elckerlijc

Noch bid ic en hadt v niet verdroten

doet mi wt gheleye maect mi moet

Tot voer die poerte

Gheselscap

Tiacob ic en sal niet eenen voet

270 Mer haddi ter werelt noch ghebleuen

Ick en hadde v nemmermeer begheuen

Nu moet v ons lieue here gheleyden

Ick wil van v scheyden

Elckerlijc

es dat ghescheyden

[*Gheselscap*]

Sonder omsien ay lazen iaet

[*Elckerlijc*]

275 Nv sien ic wel tes cranck toeuerlaet

Tgheselscap als coemt ter noot

Mer waer ic noch in weelden groot

(B. 3. r^o.)

260 Alst] B : alst. 261 groot] H 1 C or H II C adde *ye* before *groot*; it seems as though he would read *is groot*; 263 iaer] H II (?) C addo : tot in die doot; 273 Elckerlijc] is found after this line in L.; 274 [Gheselscap] neither in B, not in H. or L; added because required by the context and because supported by the English text; hence [Elckerlijc] added over line 275; 275 sien] B : sie.

Alacke shall we thus departe in dede
 O lady helpe without ony more comforte
 305 Lo felawshyp forsaketh me in my moste nede
 For helpe in this worlde whether shall I resorte
 Felawshyp here before with me wolde mery make
 And now lytell sorowe for me doeth he take
 It is sayd in prospereytye men frendes may fynde
 310 Whiche in aduersytye be full vnkynde
 Now whether for socoure shall I flee
 Syth that felawshyp hath forsaken me
 To my kynnesmen I wyll truely
 Prayenge them to helpe me in my necessytye
 315 I beleue that they wyll do soo
 For kynde wyll crepe where it may not go
 I wyll go saye / for yender I se them go
 Where be ye now my frendes and kynnesmen
Kynred. ¶ Here be we now at your commaundemente
 320 Cosyn I praye you shewe vs your intente
 In ony wyse and do not spare
Cosyn. ¶ Ye eueryman and vs to declare
 Yf ye be dysposed to go ony whether
 For wot ye well / we wyll lyue *and* dye to gyther
Kynred. 325 ¶ In welthe *and* wo / we wyll with you holde
 For ouer his kynne a man may be bolde

305 B. begins here; felawshyp] B. felowshyp; 306 whether] B. whither; L. wheder; 303 thus] L : this; 304 O] L : A; 311 flee] B : flye; 312 forsaken] B. forsake; 314 me] not in B; 316 not] B. nat; 317 yender] B : yonder; 318 ye] B : you; 320 intente] B, L : entent; 321 do not] B : nat; L : not; 322 vs to] B, L : to vs; 323 whether] L : whyder; 324 wot ye] B, L : wete you; to gyther] B. to gider, L : to gyder; In L : *we* is omitted before *wyll*; 325 B. has under this line : Eueryman B; 326 holde] B. to bolde.

So soudtmen met mi lachen alteenen
 Mer lazen men wilt met mi niet weenen
 280 Men seit in voerspoet vint men vrient
 die ter noot niet zeer en dient
 een ander hem castie bi desen
 Waer wil ic nv troost soeckende wesen
 Ic weet wel aen mijn vrient *ende* maghe
 285 dien wil ic minen noot gaen claghen
 Al is mi mijn gheselscap afghegaen
 Si moeten mi doch ter noot bi staen
 Want men doet int ghemeen ghewach
 dattet bloet cruypet daert nient wel gaen en mach
 290 Ic salt besoecken op dat ic leue
 Waer sidi vrienden *ende* maghe

Maghe

Hier zijn wi neue
 Tuwen ghebode stout *ende* koene

Neue

Elckerlijc hebdi ons te doene
 dat segt ons vry
 (B. 3. v^o.)

Maghe

Ja sonder verlaet
 295 Wi zyn tuwen besten wat ghi bestaet
 Al woudi yemant doot slaen
 Wi helpen v daer toe

Neue

Wat het moet alsoe staen

286 mijn] not in B. H.; 287 doch] B: doch; 289 nient] B: *niet* (n3) H.
 nyet. ; wel] not in B.; 294 verlaet] H i C adds: tot dy; 296 doot] crossed
 out in H.; 297 Wi — toe] crossed out in H; Wat; B: want.

eueryman ¶ Gramercy my frendes *and* kynnesmen kynde
 Now shall I shew you the grefe of my mynde
 I was commaunded by a messengere
 330 That is an hye kynges chefe offycere
 He bad me go a pylgrymage to my payne
 But I know well I shall neuer cume agayne
 Also I must gyue rekenynge strayte
 For I haue a great enemy / that hath me in wayte
 335 Whiche intendeth me for to hyndre
Kynred. ¶ What a counte is that / whiche ye must rendre
 That wolde I knowe

euery man ¶ Of all my workes I must shewe
 How I haue lyued / and my dayes spente
 340 Also of yll dedes / that I haue vsed
 In my tyme / syth lyfe was me lente
 And of all vertues / that I haue refused
 Therfore I praye you / go thether with me
 To helpe to make myne accounte for saynt charytie

Cosyn. 345 ¶ What to go thether / is that the matter
 Nay eueryman I had leuer fast breed *and* water
 All this fyue yere and more
euery man ¶ Alas that euer I was borne
 For now shall I neuer be mery
 350 Yf that you forsake me
Kynred. ¶ A syr what ye be a mery man

327 Gramercy] H. Geamercy; 330 an] B, L : a ; chefe] not in B; 331 a] B : on; 332 But] B, L : And ; 333 gyue] L : gyue α ; 335 intendeth] B, L : intendeth ; 338 workes] B. werkes; 343 thether] L : thyder ; 348 borne] B, L : bore ; Under this line B. has : The somoninge B. 1; 351 A] B : Ah.

Salment maechscap te recht orboren

Elckerlijc

God die danc v mijn vrienden vercoren

Ick claghe v met droeuigher herten

300 Mijn gheuaernis

Dat ic ontboden bin alsoot claeir is

Een verre pelgrimage te gaen

Daer nemmermeer en is wederkeeren aen

Daer moet ic rekeninge doen die swaer is

305 Voerden heere diet al openbaer is

Maghe

Waer af moetti rekeninge doen

Elckerlijc

(B. 4. r^o.)

Van mijnen wercken om cort sermoen

Hoe ic hier mijnen tijt heb versleten

Op aertrijc ende met sonden verbeten

310 ende wat ic heb bedreuen

den tijt gheleent ende niet ghegheuen

Hier wilt doch mede gaen dat v die

Almachtighe god wil lonen

ende helpt mijn rekeninge verschooonen

So sal te minder werden mijn seer

Maghe

Wat daer mede te gaen

Neue

315 Way schillet niet meer

298 maechscap] B : maesscap; 299 droeuigher] B : droeuer; 300 Mijn gheuaernis] In B these words are still partly on line of .. herten; they clearly belong to it; In H. mijn, but on separate line; 305 diet] B : dient; is] H II C adds a word; coen? 312 doch medegaen] B : m. g. toch; dat v die Almachtighe god wil lonen] B : dat v god lone; Almachtighe] H : almachtighe; 315 Wat — gaen] crossed out in H. 315 Way] B. H : Wa.

Take good herte to you / and make no mone
 But one thyng I warne you / by saynt Anne
 As for me / ye shall go alone

euery man 355 ¶ My cosyn / Wyll you not with me go

Cosyn. ¶ No by our lady / I haue the crampe in my to
 Trust not to me / for so god me sped
 I wyll deceyue you / in your moste nede

Kynred. ¶ It auayleth not vs to tyse
 360 Ye shall haue my mayde / with all my herte
 She loueth to go to festes / there to be nyce
 And to daunce / and a brode to sterte
 I wyll gyue her leue / to help you in that iurnaye
 If that you and she may agree

eueryman 365 ¶ Now shewe me the very effecte of your mynde
 Wyll you go with me / or abyde behynde

Kynred. ¶ Abyde behynde / ye that wyll I *and* I may
 Therfore farewell / tyll a nother daye

355 Wyll you not] B : will nat; L : wyll you not; 358 deceyue] B :
 disceyue; 359 not] B : you nat; 362 And to] B : For to; 365 Now] H : Nw;
 H — H prints No; 366 abyde] B : byde; 367 Abyde] B : Byde; 368 farewell]
 B, L : farewell.

Voerwaer ick heb een ander ghepeyst

Maghe

Ic valle op mijn achterhielen

Neue

Ten docht niet gheueyst

Ic seynder mijne maerten bli ende vry

Si gaet gaerne ter feesten

(B. 4. v^o.)

Maghe

320 Ick segghe oeck alsoe

Ick soude verschieten int laetste

Elckerlijc

En wildi dan niet mede gaen

Neue

En laet niet haesten best

Ten is tot gheenre feesten te gaen

325 Noch tot gheenre sollen

Elckerlijc

Nv om een eynde te knopen

Segt wildi mede sonder verlaet

Maghe

Neue ic neme wtstel dach ende raet

ende mijn ghenachte tot open tijde

316 ander ghepeyst] Crossed out in H; H 1 C adds : se... è...] (cut off) and
 (on second line :) en weet niet] (cut off); 317 gheueyst] H 1 C adds : *bi sire*
 and an illegible word; 320 alsoe] H 11 C. adds : bi leesten; 321 int laetste]
 B : int laste; crossed out in H; H 11 C adds : van bi te staen; 323 best]
 H 11 C. substitutes : saen; 325 Sollen] H 11 C adds : lopen.

eueryman ¶ How shulde I be mery or gladde
 370 For fayre promyses / men to me do make
 But whan I haue moste nede / they me forsake
 I am deceyued that maketh me sad

Cosyn. ¶ Cosyn eueryman farewell now
 For verely I wyll not go with you
 375 Also of my owne / an vnredy reckenyng
 I haue to aȝcounte / therfore I make taryenge
 Now god kepe the / for now I go

euery man ¶ A Iesus is all cume hereto
 Loo / fayre wordes maketh fooles fayne

380 They promyse / *and* nothynge wyll do certayne
 My kynnesmen promysed me faythfully
 For to abyde with me stedfastly
 And now fast awaye do they flee
 Euyng so felawshyp promysed me
 385 What frende were best me of to prouyde
 I lose my tyme here longer to abyde

370 fayre promyses] B : feare promesse ; do] not in B,L ; 372 deceyued]
 B : disceyued ; 373 now] B : as nowe ; 375 my] B, L : myne ; owne] B :
 owne lyfe ; 376 aȝcounte] B : counte ; 378 A Iesus] B : Ah Jesu ; 379
 maketh] B : make ; 380 promyse] B : promes moche ; 383 flee] B : flye ;
 386 lose] B : lese ; longer] B : lenger ; abyde] B : byde.

Neue

Wi willen ons verblasen

Elckerlijc

330 Hoe soude ick verbliden

Wat schoonder woerden men mi biet

(B. 5. r^o.)

Alst coemt ter noot so eest al niet

Ay lazen hoe ist hier gheuaren

Neue

Elckerlijc neue god moet v bewaren

335 Ic en wil niet mede opt platte gheseyt

Oec heb ic wtstaende te rekenen wat

daer ben ic noch qualic op versien

dus bluie ic hier

Elckerlijc

Dat mach wel zijn

Tfy elckerlijc hebdi v verlaten

340 Op v mage? die hem so vroemlijc vermaten

Laten v bliven in desen daghen

Siet oftmense iaechde van hier

Ick sie men spreect wel metten monde

Buyten der daet wt geueynsden gronde

345 dan seghen si neue gebreect v yet

Ic ben tuwen besten tes seker nyet

ende des ghelijc seyt tgheselscap doch

Tes al zoringhe ende bedroch

(B. 5. v^o.)

Die wil macher hem toe verlaten

350 Waer mocht ic mi nv henen saten

Hier is verloren langhe ghebleuen

Wat vrienden sullen mi nv troost geuen?

330 verbliden] H n C. adds : van der daet ; 332 eest] B : eu (sic) ist ;
 335 opt] H n C. adds a word of 4 letters : ges t ? only the *e* in clear ; the other
 letters are not certain ; 338 hier] H n C adds : fyn ; 340 mage?] L : mage ;
 341 daghen] H : doghen ; 344 geueynsden] B : geuensden ; 347 des ghelijc]
 B : des ghelijc kx ; tgheselscap] B : geselscap. ; 347 doch] B : doch ; 348 zoringhe]
 B : soringhe ; 349 wil] B : wilt ; 352 nv] not in B ; geuen?] L : geuen.

Yet in my mynde a thynge there is
 All my lyfe I haue loued ryches
 If that my good now helpe me / myght
 390 It wolde make my herte full lyght
 I wyll speke to hym / in this dystresse
 Where arte thou my goodes and ryches.

Goodes.

¶ Who calleth me (eueryman) what hast ^u y haste
 I lye here in corners trussed and pyled so hye
 395 And in chestes I am locked full fast
 Also sacked in bagges / thou mayste se *with* thyne eye
 I cannot stere / in packes low I lye
 what wolde ye haue / lyghtly me saye
every man ¶ Cume hyther good / in all the hast thou may
 400 For of councell I must desyre the

Goodes.

¶ Syr *and* ye in the worlde haue trouble or aduersyte
 Than can I helpe you / to remedye shortly

every man

¶ It is a nother dysease that greuyth me
 In this worlde it is not / I tell soo
 405 I am sende for another waye to go
 To gyue a strayte accounte generall
 Before the hyghest Iupyter of all
 And all my lyfe / I haue had ioye *and* pleasure in the

390 It] L : He ; 393 (eueryman)] B : Euerymā ; L : euery man ; ^u y] B :
 thou ; 394 trussed] B : trusshed ; so hye] B : nye ; 395 full] L : so ; 396 eye]
 B : iye ; 397 low I lye] B : lowe where I lye ; stere] L : styre ; Goodes]
 B : Good dedee : trouble] B, L : sorowe ; 402 than] B, L : that ; ~~404~~ tell
 soo] B. L : tell the so ; 405 sende] B, L : sent ; 406 accounte] B, L :
 counte ; 408 had ioye and pleasure] B : had my pleasure.

daer coemt mi wat nieus inne
 Ic heb *aen* mijn goet geleyt grote minne
 355 Wilde mij dat helpen tot mijnen orboren
 So en had ict noch niet al verloren
 Ic heb op hem noch alle mijn troost
 O heere diet al sal doemen
 Wilt v gracie op mi ontsluyten
 Waer sidi mijn goet

Tgoet

360 Ick legghe hier in muten
 Versockelt vermost als ghi mi siet
 Vertast veruuylt ic en kan mi niet
 Verporren also ic ben tsamen gesmoert
 Wat wildi mi hebben

Elckerlijc

Coemt rasch hier voert
 (B. 6. r^o.)
 365 Lichtelic goet ende laet v sien
 Ghi moet mi beraden

Tgoet

Wat rade sal v van mi gheschien
 Hebdi ter werelt eenich letten
 Dat sal ic v beteren

Elckerlijc

Tes al een ander smette
 Ten is niet ter werelt wilt mi verstaen
 370 Ick bin ontboden daer ic moet gaen
 Een grote pelgrinagie sonder verdrach
 Oec moet ic dat is mij tswaerste gelach
 Rekeninghe doen voerden ouersten heere
 Om dwelc ic troost aen v begheere

359 ontsluyten] H : ontsluten, and : 360 goet] H i C. adds : buten;
 362 veruuylt] B : veruult; 364 voert] H i C. adds : sonder veer se / cut
 off; 367 mi] B : wi; wat — ghescien] Crossed out in H. and H i C. adds : Ic
 mach v s.. (cut off); 368 beteren] Crossed out in H; H i C. adds : versetten.

Therfore I praye the go with me
 410 For perauenture thou mayest before god almyghty
 My rekenyng helpe to clene and puryfye
 For it is sayd euer amonge
 That money maketh all ryght / that is wronge

Goodes. ¶ Nay eueryman / I syng a nother songe
 415 I folow no man in suche vyages
 For and I wente with the
 Thou shuldest fare moche the worse for me
 For by cause on me thou dyde set thy mynde
 Thy rekenyng I haue made / blotted and blynde
 420 That thyne accounte thou cannot make truely
 And that haste thou for the loue of me

every man ¶ That wolde greue me full sore
 Whan I shulde cum to that ferefull answere
 Vp let vs go thyther to gyther

Goodes. 425 ¶ Nay not so I am to bryttell I maye not endure
 I wyll folow no man one fote be thou sure

every man ¶ Alas I haue the loued *and* had great pleasure
 All my lyfe dayes on good and treasure

Goodes. ¶ That is to thy dampnacyon without lesyng

409 go] B : nowe go ; 412 Here H has the signature : The summenyng
 B ii ; Goodes] B : good dedes ; Nay] B : Nay nay ; 414 a nother] L : an
 other ; 417 shuldest] L : sholdes ; 418 dyde] B : dyddest ; 421 for the loue
 of me] B : for my loue trewely ; 424 let] B : and let ; 425 bryttell] B :
 brotell ; 426 thou] B, L : ye ; no] not in L ; 428 good] B : my good.

375 Mits dien dat ic in kintchen tijden
 Hadde in v groot verblijden
 Ende dat mijnen troest al aen v stoet
 So bid ic v mijn wtuercoren goet
 Dat ghi met mi gaet sonder cesseren

380 want ghi mocht mi licht voer gode pureren
 (B. 6. v^o.)
 Want tgoet kan suueren smetten clae
Tgoet
 Neen elckerlijc ic mocht u letten daer
 Ic en volghe niemant tot sulcker reisen
 ende al ghinge ic mede wilt peisen

385 So soudi mijns te wors hebben grotelic
 Bi redenen ic salt v segghen blotelijc
 Ic heb zeer v pampier verweert
 Wan al v sinnen hebdi verteert
 Aen mi dat mach v leet zijn

390 Want v rekeninghe sal onghereet zijn
 Voer god almachtich mits minen schouwen
Elckerlijc
 Dat mach mi wel berouwen
 Als ict verantwoerden sal moeten
 Strangelic op ga wi mede
Tgoet
 Neen ick bin onbranlijc

395 Aldus en volghe ic v niet een twint
Elckerlijc
 (B. 7. r^o.)
 Ay lazen ick heb v oeck ghemint
 Mijn leefdaghe tot opten tijt van nv
Tgoet
 Dat es een eewige verdomenis voer v

379 sonder] B : souder; 383 sulcker] B : selcker. 388 Wan] B. H : Want; 389 leet] B : wel leet; 393 ict] B : it; 394 Strangelic] H : strangelic.; B. strangelic;; onbranlijc] B : oubrankelijc; H II C. substitutes *bi reden onberoerlyc* for *onbranlyc*.

430 For my loue is contrary / to the loue euerlastynge
 But yf thou had me loued moderately duryng
 As to the poore to gyue parte for me
 Than shouldest thou not in this doloure be
 Nor in this great sorow and care

every man 435 ¶ Lo now / I was deceyued or I was ware
 And all I may wytē my spēndyngē of tyme

Goodes. ¶ What wenest thou that I am thyne

every man ¶ I had wente so

Goodes. ¶ Nay eueryman I say noo

440 As for a whyle I was lente the
 A season thou hastē had me in prosperytē
 My condycyons is mannes soule to kyll
 Yf I sauē one / a thousande I do spyll
 Wenest thou that I wyl folowe the
 445 From this worlde nay verely

every man ¶ I had wende otherwyse

Goodes. ¶ Therfore to thy soule good is a thefe
 For whan thou arte deed this is my guyse
 A nother to deceyue in the same wyse

430 loue] B : loue of; 432 to gyue] B. L : gyue; for me] B : for the
 loue of me; L : of me; 433 be] B : haue be; 435 I was deceyued] B. L :
 was I deceyued (B : disceyued); 436 wytē] B : wete; 442 condycyons] B :
 condicion; L : condycyon; 445 From this worlde nay verely] B : Nay nat
 fro this worlde verely; L : Nay fro this worlde not verely; 446 wende]
 B : went; 449 deceyue] B : desceyue; the] L : this.

Myн minne es contrarye des hemels staten

400 Maer haddi mi bi maten
 Ende van mi ghedeylt den armen
 So en dorstu nv niet kermen
 Noch staen bedroeft dat v nu swaer is

Elckerlijc

Ay lazen god ic ken dat waer is

Tgoet

Waendi dat ic v bin

Elckerlijc

405 Ick hadt ghemeent

Tgoet

Swijcht ic en bin mer v gheleent
 Van gode claer alst is voer oghen
 Hoe ghi sult in weelden poghen
 Die menighe blijft bi mi verloren
 (B. 7. v^o.)

410 Meer dan behouden weet dat te voren
 Waendi dat ic v sal volghen elckerlijc
 Van deser werelt neen ic sekerlijc

Elckerlijc

Dat waende ic claerlijc

Om dat ic v oyt hadde so lief

Tgoet

415 Daer om tgoet kenne ic der sielen dief
 als ghi nv van hier zijt dat en mach niet lieghen
 Soe wil ic eenen anderen bedrieghen

402 kermen] B : karmen ; 403 v nv] B : mi ; dat — is] H : C. adds : in uwēn moet ; t not certain ; 404 is] H : C. substitutes : my goe / cut off ; and o e are not quite certain ; 405 bin] H : C. adds : ey (? zy) seker neent ; 406 ic en] B : elckerlic ic ēu (sic) ; mer v] B : v m. ; 407 goede] B : gode : proeft ; 412 sekerlijc] Crossed out in H ; and H : C substitutes : waerlic ; 414 so] not in B ; H : sod. 416 nv van] nv not in B ; H : van nu ; 417 Soe] B : Nu ; ic] B : ic noch.

450 As I haue done the / *and* al to his soules reprefe

euery man ¶ O false good cursed thou be
 Thou traytour to god / thou hast deceyued me
 And caught me in thy snare

Goodes. ¶ Mary thou brought thy selfe in care

455 Where of I am gladde
 I must nedes laugh / I cannot be sad

euery man ¶ A good thou hast had my hartely loue
 I gau the that whiche shulde be the lordes aboue
 But wylt thou not go with me in dede
 460 I praye the truthe to saye

Goodes. ¶ No so god me sped
 Therfore farewell and haue good daye

euery man ¶ O to whome shall I make my mone
 For to go with me / in that heuy iournaye
 465 Fyrst felawshyp / he sayd he wolde with me go
 His wordes were very plesaunte and gaye
 But afterwarde he lefte me alone
 Than spake I to my kynnsmen all in despayre
 And also they gau me wordes fayre
 470 They lacked no fayre spekyng
 But all forsake me in the endyng

450 done] B: do; 451 thou] B: may thou; 452 deceyued] B: disceyued;
 thou] L: that; 453 caught] L: caught; 455 gladde] B: right gladde;
 457 A] B: Ah; my-] B: long my; L: longe my; 464 me/ in that] B: me
 that; 465 felawshyp/ he sayd] B: felawshyp sayd; L: felawshyp sayd; go]
 B, L: gone; 469 And] L: An; 470 fayre] B: feare; 471 forsake] B: forsoke.

Ghelyc ic dede voer uwen tijt

Elckerlijc

Och valsche goet vermaledijt

420 Hoe hebdi mi in v net beuaen

Verrader gods

Tgoet

Ghi hebt dat al v seluen ghedaen

Dat mi lief es te deser tijt,

Ic moet daer om lachen

Elckerlijc

(B. 8. r^o.)

Sidi dies verblijt

Om dat ghi mi van gode hebt beroeft

425 Hi is sot die eenich goet gheloeft

Dat mach ic elckerlijc wel beclaghen

En wildi dan niet mede

Tgoet

Ey seker neen ick

Elckerlijc

Och wien sal ict dan claghen

Mede te gaen in desen groten last

cerst had ic op mijn gheselscap ghepast

430 Die seydt mi schoen toe menich fout

Mer achter na sloech hi mi niet hout

daer vandic dattet al was bedroch

Doen ghinc ic tot minen maghen noch

die seydent mi toe claeer als ghelas

435 Ten eynde vandic als ghedwas

419 valsche] B : valch; 420 beuaen] B. geuaeu (sic) crossed out in H;
 H 1 C puts *bestrijct* in the margin and then crosses out the whole line;
 421 verrader gods] Crossed out in H; and H 11 C substitutes : Hoe hebt
 gij . . (cut off) ghij hebt mij beuaen; 423 lachen] H 1 C adds : des seker
 sijt. 427 ick] H 1 C adds : by reden; claghen] B H : ghewaghen; In H.,
 H 11 C crosses out *ghewaghen* and substitutes : ? sede; 432 al was]
 B : was al; 435 vandic als] B H : vandict al.

Than wente I to my goodes that I loued best
 In hope to haue cumforte / but there had I leest
 For my goodes sharply dyd me tell

475 That he bryngeth many in hell
 Than of my selfe I was a shamed
 And so I am worthy to be blamed
 Thus may I well my selfe hate
 Of whome shall I now councell take

480 I thynke that I shall neuer sped
 Tyll that I go to my good dede
 Bat alas she is so weke
 That she can nother go nor speke
 Yet wyll I ventre on her now

485 My good dedes where be you

Good dedes ¶ Here I ly colde in the grounde
 Thy synnes haue me so sore bounde
 That I cannot stere

euery man ¶ O / good dedes I stonde in feare
 490 I must you praye of councell
 For helpe now shulde cum ryght well

Good dedes ¶ Eueryman I haue vnderstandyng

473 haue] B : haue founde ; 475 in] B : into ; 476 After this line in H.
 the signature B iij and : The summonyng ; 483 nor] B : ne ; 484 ventre]
 B : venture ; L : venter ; 486 in] B : on ; 487 haue] B, L : hath ; so] not
 in B, L ; 489 stonde in] B : stande in great ; 491 For — well] B : For nowe
 helpe and well.

doen wert ic dencken op mijn goet
 daer ic aen leyde minen moet
 Dat en gaf mi troest noch raet
 (B. 8. v^o.)

Dan dattet goet in verdoemenis staet

440 dies ic mi seluen wel mach bespuwen (.)

Tfy elckerlijc v mach wel gruwen

Hoe deerlic mach ic v versmaden

Heere god wie sal mi nu beraden

daer ic noch bi werde verhuecht

445 Niemant bat dan mijn duecht

Maer lazen si is soe teer van leden

Ic meen si niet connen en sou vander steden

Och en sal ic haer nyet toe dorren spreken

Wil ic? neen ick! ick sal nochtans (;

450 Tware alst mach (.) ic moet er henen

Waer sidi mijn duecht

Duecht

Ick ligghie hier al verdwenen

Te bedde vercrepelt ende al ontset

Ick en kan gheroeren niet een let

So hebdi mi geuoecht *mit* uwen misdaden

Wat is v ghelieuen

Elckerlijc

(C. 1. r^o.)

455 Ghi moet mi beraden

Want icx noot heb tot mijnder vromen

¶ Duecht

Elckerlijc ic heb wel vernomen

444 noch] B : *toch*; H : *doch*. 449 ic ?, ick !] L : *ic*, *ick*.; B : *ic*:, / *ic* : ;
 nochtans] B : *nochtan*; 450 Tware] B : *Tvaer*. 451 ligghie] H : *legghe*;
 verdwenen] Crossed out in H. and H II. C. substitutes : *verhoecht*; 452 ver-
 crepelt] B : *vercropelt*. 453 kan] L : *han*; B. H : *kan*. 455 beraden] H II C
 adds : *mit* (? *rust*?) *worden* of *mi(t?) breer ien or brie i en*; (cut off); pro-
 bably (: « *mit* *worden* of *mit brieven*. »)

That thou arte somond a counte to make
 Before Messyas of Ierusalem kynge
 495 And you do by me / that iournaye *with* you wyl I take
every man ¶ Therfore I cum to you / my mone to make
 I pray the to go with me

Good dedes ¶ I wolde full fayne / but I cannot stonde verely

every man ¶ Why is there any thynge on you fall

Good dedes 500 ¶ Ye syr / I may thanke you of all
 Yf ye had perfytely chered me
 Your boke of accounte / full redy now had be
 Loke the bokes of your workes *and* dedes eke
 Beholde how they lye vnder the fete
 505 To your soules heuynes

everyman ¶ Our lorde Iesus helpe me
 For one letter herein can I not se

Good dedes ¶ There is a blynde rekenyng in tyme of dystresse

every man ¶ Good dedes I praye you helpe me in this nede
 510 Or els I am for euer damned in dede

498 thou arte] B, L : ye be; 494 Messyas of Jerusalem] L : Myssyas of Iherusalem; 495 that] B : ſy; L : y^t. 497 the to go] B, L : you that ye will go; 498 stonde] B : stande; 501 perfytely] B : parfítely; L : parfytel; 502 full redy now] B : nowe full redy; L : full redy; accounte] L : counte; 504 Beholde how they lye vnder the fete] B : And se how they lye here vnder fete; L : A se how they lye vnder the fete; H. H. prints behold; 507 herein can I not see] B; L : here I can nat se; (L : not); 508 There; B : Here; 510 damned] B, L : dampned.

Dat ghi ter rekeningenhij sijt ghedaecht
Voer den ouersten heere

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Och dat si v gheclaecht

460 ick come v bidden wttermaten

Dat ghi daer met mi gaet

¶ *Duecht*

Al mocht mi al die werelt baten
ick en konst niet alleen ghestaen

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ay laz'en sidi so cranc

¶ *Duecht*

465 Dit hebdi mi al ghedaen

Haddi mi volcomelijc gheuoecht

Ic sou v rekeninghe die nv onreyn is

Ghesuuert hebben des v siel in weyn is

(C. 1. v°.)

Siet v gheschrifte ende uwe wercken

Hoe dat si hier legghen

Elckerlijc

470 Gods cracht wil mi stercken

Men siet hier een letter niet die reyn es.

Is dit al mijn gheschrifte

¶ *Duecht*

Seker ick meens

Dat moechdi sien aen mijn ghesonde

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Mijn waerde duecht wt goeden gronde

458 ghedaecht] L : ghedaecht.; B : gedaect; 459 Voer—heere] Crossed out in H. 465 cranc] H n C. substitutes: (?) croen; reading not certain; 468 weyn] B : meyn; 469 wercken] L : wercken.; 470 (name of speaker) Elckerlijc] B : Eclkerlic; 472 Is—gheschrifte] Crossed out in H, and H n C. adds : die is reijne / och ic moet weinē (?) 474 gronde] L : gronde.

Therfore helpe me to make my rekenyng
 Before the redemer of all thyng
 That kynge is and was and euer shall

Good dedes ¶ Eueryman I am sory of your fall
 515 And fayne wolde I helpe you *and I were able*

every man ¶ Good dedes your councell I pray you gyue me

Good dedes ¶ That shall I do verey
 Though that on my fete I may not go
 I haue a syster that shall with you also
 520 Called knowlege / which shall with you abyde
 To helpe you to make that dredfull rekenyng

Knowlege ¶ Eueryman I wyll go with the / and be thy guyde
 In thy moste nede to go by thy syde
every man ¶ In good condycyon I am now in euery thyng
 525 And am holy contente with this good thyng
 Thankyd be god my creature

Good dedes ¶ And whan he hath brought the there
 Where thou shalte heale the of thy smarte
 Than go thou with thy rekenyng *and thy good dedes to*
 530 For to make the ioyfull at the harte [gyther
 Before the blesyd trynytye

511 my] notion; 521 Here H. H. prints [Enter Knowledge which is
 neither in L nor in B; 525 holy] L : hole; 526 be] L : by; 527 the] B, L :
 you; 529 thou] B, L : you; thy] B, L : your; to gyther] B : toguyder;
 L : togyder; 530 the] B, L : you; the harte] B, L : herte.

475 Ik bid v troost mi tot mijnen orboren
 Oft ic bin eeuwelijc verloren
 Want geselscap vrient maghe ende goet
 Sijn mi af ghegaen in rechter oetmoet,
 Helpet mi mijn rekeninghe sluyten

480 Hier voer den hoochsten heere.

¶ Duecht

Elckerlijc ghi deert mi seere
 Ick sou v helpen waer icx machtich
 (C. 2. r^o.)

Elckerlijc

Duecht soudi mi wel beraden

Duecht

Dies bin ick bedachtich
 Hoe wel ic niet en mach vander steden

485 Noch heb ic een suster die sal gaen mede
 Kennisse heetse die v leyden sal
 ende wijsen hoemen v beraden sal
 Te trecken ter rekeninghe die fel es

Kennisse

Elckerlijc ick sal v bewaren

Elckerlijc

Ick waen mi nv wel es

490 ick ben een deels ghepayt van desen
 Gods lof moeter in gheeert wesen

Duecht

Als si v gheleyt heeft sonder letten
 Daer ghi v suueren sult van smetten
 Dan sal ic gesont werden ende comen v bij

495 Ende gaen ter rekeningen als duecht mit di
 (C. 2. v^o.)

475 orboren] L : orboren.. 477 goet] L. goet.; 485 Noch] B : Toch;
 H : doch; 486 heetse] L : heeftse, B, H : heetse ; sal] L : sal.; 487 sal]
 L : sal.; 489 bewaren] H 1 C adds : des ; 490 ben] H : bin; een deels] B :
 eens deels; 491 moeter — wesen] H 11 C. Crossed out in H ; H 11 C sub-
 stitutes : wil ick er in e (?) setten ; 492 gheleyt] L : gheseyt] B : geleyt;
 494 bij] L : bij.; 495 mit di] B : met mi.

every man ¶ My good dedes I thanke the hartfully
 I am well contente certaynly
 With your wordes swete

Knowlege 535 ¶ Now go we thether louyngly
 To confessyon that clensynge ryuere

every man ¶ For ioye I wepe I wolde we were there
 But I praye you to instructe me by intelleccyon
 Where dwellyth that holy vertue confessyon

Knowlege 540 ¶ In the house of saluacyon
 We shall fynde hym in that place
 That shall vs cumforte by goddes grace

Loo this is confessyon / knele downe *and* aske mercy
 For he is in good conceyte with god almyghty

every man 545 ¶ O gloryous fountayne *that* all vnclemnes doth clarify
 Wasshe from me the spottes of vyces vnclene
 That on me no synne may be sene
 I cum with knowlege for my redempcyon

532 I thanke the hartfully] B, L : gramercy ; but H. H. prints : I thank thee heartfully ; 535 thether] B : together ; L : togyder ; 537 were there] B : there were ; 538 to-intelleccyon] L B : gyue me cognycyon (B : cognisyon) but H. H. prints as in H. ; 539 vertue] B, L : man, but H. H. prints virtue ; 546 of vyces unclene] B : and vyces clene ; L : vyce.

Om te helpen zommeren tot uwer vruecht

Voer den oversten heere

[Elckerlijc]

Danck hebt wtuercoren duecht

Ick bin ghetroost bouen maten

Op v suete woerden

Kennisse

Nv gaen wi ons saten

500 Tot biechten (.) si es een suuer riuier

Sy sal v pureren

Elckerlijc

Wt reyner bestier

So gaen wi tot daer ic bids v beyden

Waer woent biechte

Kennisse

Int huys der salicheden

Daer sullen wijse vinden soudic meenen.

Elckerlijc

505 Ons here god wil ons gracie verleenen

Tot haer die ons vertroosten moet

(C. 3. r^o.)

Kennisse

Elckerlijc dit is biechte valt haer te voet

Sy es voer gode lief ende waert

¶ Elckerlijc

O gloriose bloome diet al verclaert

510 Ende doncker smetten doet vergaen

Ick knyele voer v wilt mi dwaen

Van mijnen sonden in v aenscouwen

ick coem met kennisse te mijnen behouwe

497 wtuercoren] B : vercoren ; heere] H i C. adds : diet al verhuecht ;
 (Name of Speaker) Elckerlijc] L : Gheselscap ; B, H : Elckerlijc ; 498 maten]
 L : maten. ; 499 woerden] H i C. substitutes : praten ; 500 riuier] B : reyne ;
 501 reyner bestier] B. reine bestiere ; H : reynen bestier ; 503 Waer] L :
 Wter ; B. H. Waer ; biechte] H i C. adds : by reden. 504 sullen] B : selen.
 508 lief] B : seer lief. 509 diet] B : die. 511 dwaen] L : dwaen. 513 behouwe]
 L : behouwe.

Redempt with herte and full of contrycyon
 550 For I am commaunded a pylgrymage to take
 And great accountes before god to make
 Now I praye you shryfte mother of saluacyon
 Helpe my good dedes / for my petyous exclamacyon

Confessyon

¶ I know your sorowe well / eueryman
 555 Bycause with knowlege ye cum to me
 I wyll you comforte as well as I can
 And a precyous Iewell I wyll gyue the
 Called penaunce voyder of aduersytye
 Therwith shall your body chastysed be
 560 With abstynence *and* perseuerance in goddes seruycce
 Here shall you receyue that scourge of me
 Whiche is penaunce stronge that ye must endure
 To remembre thy sauyoure was scurged for the
 With sharpe scurges and suffered it pacyently
 565 So must y or thou scape that paynful pylgrymage
 Knowlege hym and kepe hym in this vyage
 And by that tyme good dedes wyll be with the
 But in any wyse be sure of mercy
 For your tyme draweth fast / and ye Wyll sauued be
 570 Aske god mercy and he Wyll graunte truely
 Whan *with* the scourge of penaunce man doth hym bynde
 The oyle of forgyuenes than shall he fynde

549 Redempt] H : Redempe ; L : Redempte ; B : Repent ; of] not in B, L ;
 551 great accountes] a great countes ; 552 mother] L : moder ; 553 Helpe]
 B : Helpe hyder ; petyous] B : pitous ; 558 voyder] L : voyce voyder ;
 561 you] B : ye ; 563 To] not in B ; 565 scape — pylgrymage] B : pass thy
 pilgrimage ; 566 hym and] not in B, L ; 568 sure] B, L : seker, H. H.
 prints : sure ; 570 truely] B : it the.

Bedroeft van herten ende seer versaecht

515 Want ic ben van der doot ghedaecht
 Te gaen een' pelgrimagie die groot is
 Oec moet ic rekening doen die bloot is
 Voor hem die doersiet alle gronde (.)
 Nu bid ic biechte moeder van ghesonde
 Verclaert mijn brieuen want ducht seer on-
 520 ghesont is

¶ *Biechte*

Elckerlijc v lijden mi wel kont is
 Om dat ghi mit kennisse tot mi sijt comen
 (C. 3. v°.)
 So sal ic v troesten tuwer vromen
 Oec sal ic v gheuen een iuweelken rene
 525 dat penitencie heet alleene
 Daer suldi v lichaem mede termijnen
 Met abstinencie ende met pijnen
 Hout daer siet die gheesselen puere
 dats penitencie strang ende suere
 530 Peyst dat ons here oeck was geslaghen
 Met geesselen dat hi woude verdraghen.
 Recht voer sijn pelgrimagie stranghe
 Kennisse hout hem in desen ganghe
 So sal sijn duecht werden spoedich
 535 ende emmer hoepet een gode oetmoedich
 Want v tijt varinck eynden sal
 Bidt hem ghenade dit suldi vinden al
 ende orboert die harde knopen altijt
 Kennisse siet dat ghi bi hem sijt
 540 Als hi tot penitencien keert

514 versaecht] L : versacht; B, H : versaecht; 516 is] L : cs; B, H : is;
 517 die] B : alst; 519 ghesonde] L : ghesonde.; 520 brieuen] L : brien; B, H : brieue; ducht] B : doeht. In B : *seer — is* on second line; 522 ghi] B : ght; comen] L : comen.; 523 tuwer] B. tot uwer; 524 rene] L : rene.; 540 hi] B : sy.

euery man ¶ Thanked be god for his gracyous werke
 For now I wyll my penaunce begynne
 575 This hath reioysed and lyghted my herte
 Though the knottes be paynfull *and* harde within

Knowlege ¶ Eueryman your penaunce loke that ye fulfyll
 What Payne that euer it to you be
 And knowlege wyll gyue you councell at wyll
 580 How your accounts ye shall make clerely

eueryman ¶ O eternall god / o heuenly fygure
 O way of ryght wysenes / o goodly vysyon
 Whiche descended downe in a vyrgyn pure
 Bycause he wolde eueryman to redeme
 585 Whiche Adam forseyted by his dysobedyens
 O blessyd godhede electe and hye deuyne
 Forgyve me my greuous offence
 Here I crye the mercy in this presence
 O ghostly treasure / O raunsomer *and* redemer
 590 Of all the worlde / hope and conductor
 Myrrour of ioye / and founder of mercy
 Whiche enlumyneth heuen and erth therby
 Here my clamorous complaynte / though it late be
 Receyue my prayers of thy benygnetye
 595 Though I be a synner moste abhomynable
 Yet let my name be wryten in moyse's table

573 his] B : this; 575 hath] B : hath me; 577 your — loke] B, L. loke
 your penaunce; 579 knowlege wyll] B : I shall; L : knowlege shall;
 580 accounts] B : account; clerely H : crelery; 584 to] not in L, B;
 587 me] not in L; 589 raunsomer *and*] B : mercyfull; 590 conductor]
 B : conduiter; L : conduyter; 591 and founder] B : foundation; L : foun-
 datour; 592 enlumyneth] B : illumyneth; 594 of thy benygnetye] B, L :
 unworthy in this heuy lyfe.

Kennisse

Gaerne biechte

(C. 4. r°.)

Elckerlijc

God si hier in gheert

Nu wil ic mijn penitencie beghinnen.

Want dlicht heeft mi verlicht van binnen

Al sijn dese knopen strenghe ende hardt

Kennisse

545 Elckerlijc hoe suer dat v wert

Siet dat ghi v penitencie volstaet

Ick kennisse sal v gheuen raet

Dat ghi v rekeninghe sult tonen bloot

Elckerlijc

O leuende leuen o hemels broot

550 O wech der waerheyt o godlic wesen

Die neder quam wt sijns vaders schoot

In een suuer maecht gheresen

Om dat ghi elckerlijc wout ghenesen

die adam onterfde bi yeuen rade

555 O heylige triniteyt wt ghelesen

Wilt mi vergheuen myn mesdade

Want ic begheer aen v ghenade

(C. 4. v°.)

O godlijc tresoer o coninclijs scat.

O alder werelt toeuerlaet

560 Specie der engelen sonder versaden

Spiegel der v्रuecht daert al aen staet

Wiens licht hemel ende aerde bestaet

Hoort mijn roepen al yst te spade

Mijn bede wilt in den troen ontsaen

565 Al bin ic sondich mesdadich ende quaet

Scrijft mi int boeck des hemels blad'.

551 schoot] L : schoot.; 561 Spiegel] B : claeer spiegel; bestaet] B : doerslaet; H : beslaet. 566 blad'] B : blade.

O mary pray to the maker of all thyng
 Me for to helpe at my endyne
 And sau me from the power of my enemy
 600 For deth assayleth me strongly
 And lady that I may by meane of thy prayer
 Of thy sonnes glory to be parte taker
 By the meane of his passyon I it craue
 I beseche you helpe my soule to sau
 605 Knowlege gyue me the scorge of penaunce
 My flesshe therwith shall gyue a quytance
 I wyll now begynne yf god gyue me grace

Knowlege ¶ Euery man / god gyue you tyme and space
 Thus I bequethe you in the handes of our sauoure
 610 Thus may you make your rekenyng sure

eueryman ¶ In the name of the holy trynyte
 My body sore punysshdyd shalbe
 Take this body for the synne of the flesshe
 Also thou delytest to go gaye and fresshe
 615 And in waye of dampnacyon y dyd me bryng
 Therfore suffre nowe strokes and punysshenge
 Now of penaunce I wyll wade the water clere
 To sau me from hell and from the fyre

602 thy] B, L : your; parte taker] B : partinere; L : partynere;
 603 meane] L : meanes; 604 beseche] B : beseke; helpe] B : helpe me;
 606 gyue] B : haue; a quytance] B : acquaintance; L : acqueyntaunce;
 610 Thus] B : Nowe; L : Now; 611 of] L, B : of all; 614 delytest] B :
 delyted; 615 in] B; L : in the; 616 and] B, L : of; 618 hell — fire] L, B :
 purgatory that sharp fyre.

Want ic begheer aen v ghenade
 O maria moeder des hemels almachtich
 Staet mi ter noot bi voordachtich
 570 Dat mi die viant niet en verlade
 Want nakende is mi die doot crachtich (.)
 Bidt voer mi dijnen sone voerdachtich
 So dat ic mach gaen inden rechten pade
 Daer die wegen niet en sijn onrachtich
 575 Maect mi uwes kints rijk delachtich
 So dat ic in sijn passie bade
 Want ic begheer aen v ghenade
 (C. 5. r^o.)
 Kennisse gheeft mi die gheselen bi vramen
 Die penitencie hieten bi namen
 580 Ic salt beghinnen god geefs mi gracie

¶ *Kennisse*

Elckerlijc god gheue v spacie
 So gheuicx v in den naem ons heeren
 Daer ghi ter rekeninghe moet keeren

¶ [Elckerlijc]

In den naem des vaders ende des soens mede
 585 Des heylige gheest inder drieuuldichede
 Beghin ic myn penitencie te doen
 Neemt lichaem voer dat ghi waert scoon
 Mij te bringhen in den wech der plaghen
 Daer om moetti nv sijn gheslaghen
 590 Ghi hebbes wel verdient ghewarich
 Ay broeders waer soe mochti

568 almachtich] L : almactich ; B : almach/tich ; (*tich* on the line above)
 H : almac h/tich (*tich* on the line above) ; we here see the genesis of the
 mistake in L.; 571 die] B : de; crachtich] B : crachtic. 574 onrachtich] H, L :
 onrastich ; 575 delachtich] B : deelachtih ; 583 moet] B : voer moet ;
 584 [Elckerlijc. L : Gheselscap ; B : Elckerlijc. ende -- mede [Crossed
 out in H; H n C. substitutes : (?) vyilicheit le? / cut off. 585 gheest]
 B : geests; drieuuldichede] L : drieuuldichede.; 587 scoon] L : scoon ..

Good dedes ¶ I thanke god now I can walke and go

620 I am delyuered of my sekenesse and wo

Therfore with eueryman I wyll go and not spare
His god workes I wyll helpe hym to declare

Knowlege ¶ Now eueryman be mery and gladde

Your good dedes do come ye may not be sadde

625 Now is your good dedes hole and sounde

Goynge vpryght vpon the grounde

euery man ¶ My herte is lyght and shall be euermore
Now wyll I smyte faster than I dyd before

Good dedes ¶ Eueryman pylgrym my specyall frende

630 Blessyd be thou without ende

For the is prepared the eternall glory

Ye haue me made hole and sounde

Therfore I wyll abyde with the / in euery stounde

euery man ¶ Welcume my good dedes now I here thy voyce

620 I] B, L : And ; sekenesse] B : sickenesse ; L : sykenesse ; 621 I wyll
go] B : will I go ; 622 god] B, L : good ; 624 do come] L, B : cometh nowe ;
(L now) ; 626 vpon] B : on ; 629 pylgrym] B : pilgrimage ; 631 prepared]
B, L : preparate ; 633 abyde] B, L : byde ; with the / in euery] B : by the
euery ; L : by the in euery.

Door penitencie waen
 Tseghen dat ghi v penitencie moet gaen
 Die elckerlijc moet nemen aen.

¶ Duecht

(C. 5. v^o.)

595 God danc ic begin nv wel te gaen
 Want elckerlijc heeft mi ghenesen
 Dies wilic eewich bi hem wesen
 Oeck sal ic sijn weldaet clareren
 Dies wil ic bi hem gaen te tijde

Kennisse

Elckerlijc sijt vro ende blijde
 600 V weldaet coemt nv sijt yrhuecht

Elckerlijc

Wie maecht sijn (,) kennisse

Kennisse

Het is v duecht
 Gans ende ghesont op die beene

Elckerlijc

Van blijscappen ic weene
 Nv wil ic meer slaen dan te voren

Duecht

605 Elckerlijc pelgrijm wtuercoren
 Ghebenedijt sidi sone der victorien
 Want v is nakende dlicht der glorien
 (C. 6. r^o.)
 Ghi hebt mi ghemaect al ghesont
 des sal ic v bi bliuen te ewigher stont
 610 God sal dijnre ontfermen hebt goet betrouwien

Elckerlijc

Welcoem duecht mijnen oghen douwen

599 syt] B : nv sijt. 601 maecht] B : mach ; kennisse] H i C adds : soecht. 605 wtuercoren] B : vercoren. 606 sone d. v.] B : here wtuercoren. 609 v bi] B : bi v. 610 dijnre] B : dijns. 611 Welcoem] B : Wilcoem.

635 I wepe for very swetenes of loue

Knowlege ¶ Be nomore sad / but euer more reioyce
 God seeth thy lyuynge in his trone aboue
 Put on this garment / to thy behoue
 Whiche with your teres is now all wete
 640 Lest before god / it be vnswete
 Whan you to your iourneyes ende cume shall

euery man ¶ Gentyll knowlege / what do ye it call

Knowlege ¶ It is the garmente of sorowe
 From payne it wyll you borow
 645 Contrycyon it is
 That getteth forgyuenes
 It pleasyth god passynge well
Good dedes ¶ Eueryman wyll you were it / for your hele

euery man ¶ Now blesyd be Iesu maryes sonne
 650 For now haue I on true contrycyon
 And let vs go now / without taryenge
 Good dedes / haue we clere oure rekenyng

Good dedes ¶ ye in dede I haue it here

euery man Than I trust we nede not fere

636 euer more] B, L : euer ; 638 this] L, B : thy ; 639 Whiche — wete]
 L, B : Whiche is wette with your teares ; 640 Lest before god / it be
 vnswete] B : Or els (L : elles) before god ye (L : you) may it misse (L :
 mysse) ; 641 you] B, L : ye ; 642 ye] B : you ; 643 It is the] B : It is cal-
 led the ; L : It is a ; 647 It] B, L : He ; 648 you] B : ye ; 653 haue it]
 B : haue them ; L : haue ; 654 nede not fere] B : nede nat to feare,

In réchter oetmoedigher blijscap soet.

Kennisse

En slaat niet meer hebt goeden moet

God siet v leuen in den throone

615 doet aen dit cleet tuwen loone

Het is met uwen tranen beuloeyt

dus draechtet vrij onghemoet

Oft anders soudijt voor gode gemissen.

Elckerlijc

Hoe heet dit cleet

Kennisse

Tcleet van berouwenissen

620 Het sal gode alte wel behaghen

Duecht

Elckerlijc wilt dat cleet aendraghen

(C. 6. v^o.)

Want kennisse heuet v aenghedaen

¶ Elckerlijc

Soe wil ic berouwenisse ontfaelen

Om dat god dit cleet heeft so weert

625 Nv willen wi gaen onuerueert (.)

Duecht hebdi ons rekeninghe claeer

Duecht

Jae ick elckerlijc

¶ Elckerlijc

So en heb ic ghenen vaer

617 onghemoet] B, H : onghemoeyt; 619 Hoe heet] B : God *heer*; berouwenissen] H i C. adds : *ende* leet; 621 aendraghen] L : aendragken; 627 elckerlijc] H i C. adds : *dats* waer.

655 Now frendes let vs not parte in twayne

Kynred. ¶ Nay eueryman / that wyll we not certayne

Good dedes ¶ Yet must thou lede with the
Thre persones of great myght

every man ¶ Who shulde they be

Good dedes 660 ¶ Dyscressyon and strengthe they hyght
And thy beautye may not abyde behynde

Knowlege ¶ Also ye must call to mynde
Your fyue wyttes / as for your councellers

Good dedes ¶ You must haue them redy / at all houres
every man 665 ¶ How shall I get them hyther

Kynred ¶ You must call them all to gyther
And they wyll here you in contynent

every man ¶ My frendes cume hyder and be present
Dyscressyon / strength / my fyue wyttes *and* beautye

Beautye. 670 ¶ Here at your wyll we be redy
What wolde ye that we shalde do

Good dedes ¶ That ye wold with eueryman go

655 parte in twayne] B : departe atwayne ; 661 abyde] B : byde ;
663 councellers] B : counsaylours ; L : counsaylours ; 665 them hyther] B :
them them (sic) hyder ; 670 be] L : be all ; 671 wolde] L : wyll ; shalde]
L : sholde.

Op vrienden en wilt van mi niet sceyden

¶ Kennisse

Neen wi elckerlijc

¶ Duecht

Ghi moet noch met v leyden

630 Drie personen van groter macht

Elckerlijc

Wie souden si wesen

¶ Duecht

Wijsheyt ende v cracht

(C. 7. r^o.)

V scoonheit en mach niet achter bliuen.

Kennisse

Noch moetti hebben sonder becluen

V vijf sinnen als v beraders

Elckerlijc

635 Hoe soude icxse ghecrighen.

Kennisse

Roepse alle gader

Si sullen hooren al sonder verdrach.

Elckerlijc

Mijn vrienden coemt alle op mijnen dach.

Wijsheyt cracht scoonheyt ende vijf sinnen

Cracht

640 Hier sijn wi alle tot uwer minnen

Wat wil di van ons hebben ghedaen.

Duecht

Dat ghi met elckerlijc wilt gaen

Sijn pelgrimagie helpen volbringhen

*643 [Want hi gedaecht is ter rekeningen]

628 Op] B : Nv.; 629 elckerlijc] H 1 C. adds : wykt wat beyden;

631 wesen] H 1 C : adds : ic dacht; 634 beraders] H 1 C. adds : styghen;

639 wijsheit] B : Vroescap; *ende*] not in B; 642 gaen] L : gaen.; *643 this line only in B.

And helpe hym in his pylgrymage
 Aduyse you / wyll ye with hym or not / in *that* vyage

Strength 675 ¶ We wyll brynge hym all thether
 To his helpe *and* cumforte / ye may beleue me

Descretion ¶ So wyll we go with hym all to gyther

every man ¶ Almyghty god / loued may thou be
 I gyue the laude / that I haue hether brought

680 Strength / dyscressyon / beaute *and* fyue wyttes lac I nought
 And my good dedes / with knowlege clere
 All be in cumpany at my wyll here
 I desyre no more to my besynes

Strength. ¶ And I strength will stonde by you in destresse
 685 Though ^þ woldest in batayll fyght on *the* grounde

v. wyttis. ¶ And though it were throughe the worlde rounde
 We wyll not departe for swete nor soure

Beautye. ¶ No more wyll I vnto dethes houre
 What so euer therof befall

Discretion 690 ¶ Eueryman aduyse you fyrst of all

674 with hym or not] B : *with* him go or nat ; that] B : this ; 676 To
 his helpe and cumforte] B : To helpe and comfort him ; 678 may] L : myght ;
 680 fyue wyttes] B : v. wettes ; L : v. wyttes ; 682 in] L : in my ; 683 With
 this line D. begins but it is partly cut away ; besynes] B : businesse ;
 stonde by you] B : by you stande ; L : by you stande ; 685 woldest]
 B, L : wolde ; D : wold ; 686 throughe] B : thorowe ; L : thrugh ; 687 nor]
 B, L : ne for.

Voor gode te comen onghellet

Siet oft ghi mede wilt

(C. 7. v°.)

Schoonheyt

645 Wi willen alle met

Tsijnre hulpen ende tsijnen rade

Vroetscap

Dat willen wi certeyn

Elckerlijc

O almoghende god ghenade.

V loue ic dat ic dus heb ghebracht

Vroescap scoonheyt vijf sinnen ende cracht.

650 ende mijn duecht met kennisse claer

Nv heb ic gheselscap te wille daer

Ic en geerder niet meer te minen verdoene

Cracht

Ick bluie v bi stout ende koene

Al waert te gaen in eenen strijt

Vijf sinnen

655 Ende ic al waert die werelt wijt

Ic en scheyde van v in gheenre noot

Schoonheyt

So en sal ic oeck tot in die doot

(C. 8. v°.)

Comer af datter af comen mach

Vroetscap

Elckerlijc wes ic v doe ghewach

660 Gaet voersienich ende al met staden

Wi sullen v alle duecht raden

644 onghellet] H 1 C adds : sonder dynghen; 645 wilt] H 11 (?) C adds : nv; 646 rade] H 1 C adds : reyn; 647 ghenade] H 1 C adds : niet (or : met) clen̄y; but c might be t; 652 geerder] B : geers; 653 stout] L : stont; B, H: stout;

euery man Go with a good aduysement / *and* delyberycyon
 We all gyue you vertues monycyon
 That all shall be well.
 ¶ My frendes herken what I wyll tell
 695 I pray god rewarde you / in his heuenly spere
 Now herken all that be here
 For I wyll make my testament
 Here before you all presente
 In almes half my good I wyll gyue *with* my handes twayne
 700 In the waye of charytye with good entent
 And the other halfe stylle shall remane
 In quyet to be returned there it ought to be
 This I do in despyte of the fende of hell
 To go quyte out of his parell
 705 Euer after and this daye.

Knowlege ¶ Eueryman herken what I saye
 Go to prystethode I you aduyse
 And receyue of hym in ony wyse
 The holy sacramente / and oyntment to gyther
 710 Than shortely se ye turne agayne hyder
 We wyll all abyde you here.

v. wyttes. ¶ Ye eueryman hye you / that ye redy were
 Theyr is no emperour / kynge / duke / ne baron
 That of god hath commyssyon
 715 As hath the leest pryst in the worlde beyng
 For of the blessyd sacramentes pure *and* benyng

691 delyberycyon] B : deliberacion ; L : delyberacyon ; D : lyberacion ;
 692 vertues] L, B, D : vertuous ; 694 herken] B : harke ; tell] L, B :
 you tell ; 695 his] D : this ; heuenly] L : heuen ; 699 wyll gyue] B : gyue ;
 702 In quyet] B, D : I it bequeath ; (B : — quethe) ; L : in queth ; 705 Euer]
 D : Eeuer ; this] D : and this ; 706 I] B : I wyll ; 707 Here the first
 D. fragment ends ; 709 to gyther] B : toguyder ; 713 Theyr] L : There ;
 714 With this line D. begins again.

ende sullen v helpen wel bestieren

¶ Elckerlijc

Dit sijn die vrienden die niet en faelgieren.
dat lone hem god die hemelsche vader

665 Nv hoort mijn vrienden alle gader
Ick wil gaen stellen mijn testament
Voor v allen hier in present
In caritatene ende in rechter oetmoet
deel ic den armen van mijnen goede
670 Deen helft ende dander helft daer nae
Gheuick daer si schuldich is te gaen
dit doen ic den viant nv te schanden
Om los te gaen wt sinen handen
Nae mijn leuen in daghe

Kennisse

(C. 8. v°.)

675 Elckerlijc hoort wat ick ghewaghe.
Gaet totten priesterliken staet
Ende siet dat ghi van hem ontaet
Tsacrament ende olijs mede
Dan keert hier weder tot deser stede
680 Wi sallen alle nae v verbeyden

¶ Vijf sinnen

Jae elckerlijc gaet v bereyden
Ten is keyser coninc hertoghe of graue
Die van gode hebben alsulcken gaeue
Als die minste priester doet alleene

685 Van al den sacramenten reene

668 oetmoet] B. H : oetmoede ; 672 doen] B : doe ; 674 daghe] B. H :
desen daghe ; 675 ick] B : ic v ; 677 ontaet] L : ontaet. ; 683 gaeue] L :
graue ; B. H : gaeue.

He bereth the keyes *and* therof hath he cure
 For mannes redempcyon it is euer sure
 Whiche god for our soules medycyne
 720 Gauē vs out of his harte with great pyne
 Here in this transytorie lyfe / for the and me
 The blesydy sacramentes seuen there be
 Baptym / confyrmacyon / with prystethode good
 And *the* sacrament of goddes precyous fleshe *and* blode
 725 Maryage the holy extreme vnccyon and penaunce
 These. vii. be good to haue in remembraunce
 Gracyous sacramentes of hye dyuynyte

euery man ¶ Fayne wolde I receyue that holy body
 And mekely to my ghosty father I wyll go

v. wyttes. 730 ¶ Eueryman that is the best that ye can do
 God wyll you to saluacyon bryngē
 For good prystethod excedeth all other thyngē
 To vs holy scripture they do teche
 And conuerteth man from synne heuen to reche
 735 God hath to them more power gyuen
 Than to ony angell that is in heuen
 With. v. wordes he may consecrate
 Goddes body in fleshe and blode to make
 And handelet his maker bytwene his handes
 740 The pryst byndeth and vnbyndeth all bandes
 Bothe in erth and in heuen
 Thou mynsters all the sacramentes seuen
 Though we kysse thy fete thou were worthy
 Thou arte surgyon that cureth synne deedly

717 he] not in B. D. L; 720 pyne] B. L : payne; 722 seuen] B. L :
 vii; 726 vii] L : seuen; 732 good] not in B. D. L; under this line H. has :
 The somonyngē, and the signature D. 1; 738 make] B. D : take ; With this
 line a D. fragment ends; 739 haⁿdes] L : hande; 743 kysse] B : kyst ;
 744 arte] B : art the.

Draecht hi den slotel al doer bereyt
 Tot des menschen salicheyt
 Die ons god teender medecijne
 Gaf wter herten syne

690 Hier in desen aertschen leuen
 Die heylige sacramenten seuen.
 doopsel vormsel priesterscap goet
 Ende tsacrament god vleesch ende bloet
 (d. 1. r^o.)
 Huwelic ende theylich olyzel met
 695 Dit zyn die seuen onbesmet
 Sacramenten van groter waerden

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ic wil gods lichaem minlic aenuaerden
 Ende oetmoedelijc totten priester gaen

¶ *Vijf sinnen*

Elckerlijck dat is wel ghedaen
 700 God laet v met salicheden volbringhen
 Die priester gaet bouen alle dinghen
 Si zijn die ons die scriptuere leeren
 Ende den mensche van sonden keeren
 God heeft hem meer machts ghegheuen
 705 dan den ynghelen int eewich leuen
 Want elc priester kan maken claer
 Met vijf woerden opten outaer
 Inder missen des zijt vroet
 Gods lichaem warachtich vleesch ende bloet
 710 Ende handelt den scepper tusscen zijn handen
 Die priester hint ende ontbint alle banden
 (d. 1. v^o.)
 In den hemel ende opter aerde
 Och edel priester van groter waerde
 Al custen wi v voetstappen gi waret waert (.)
 715 Wie van sonden troost begaert

710 den] B : sinen ; handen] B : hant; 711 banden] B : bant.

745 No remedy we fynde vnder god
 But all onely prystethode
 Eueryman god gaue pryst that dygnyte
 And setteth them in his stede amonge vs to be
 Thus be they aboue angelles in degre

Knowlege 750 ¶ If prystes be good it is so surely
 But whan Iesu henge on *the* crosse *with* great smarte
 There he gaue out of his blesyd herte
 The same sacrament in great tourment
 He solde them not to vs that lorde omnipotent

755 Therefore saynt Peter the apostle doth saye
 That Iesus curse hath all they
 Which god theyr sauour do bye or sell
 Or they for ony money do take or tell
 Synfull prystes gyueth the synners example bad

760 Theyr chyldren sytteth by other mennes fyres I haue herde
 And some haunteth womens company
 With vnclene lyfe as lustes of lechery
 These be with synne made blynde

v. wyttes. ¶ I trust to god no suche may we fynde

765 Therfore let vs prystethode honoure
 And folow theyr doctryne for our soules socoure
 We be ther shepe and they shepeherdes be
 By whom we all be kepte in suertye
 Peas for yender I se eueryman cume
 770 Which hath made true satysfaccoon

745 we] B. D : may we ; With this line D. begins again ; 746 all onely] B. D : alone on ; 748 setteth] B : letteth ; vs to] B. D : vs ; 751 henge] L : hanged ; 752 he gaue] B. D : gaue he vs ; 754 he solde] B. D : he helde ; to vs] B. D : to ; 756 hathe] B : haue ; 763 with] B : without ; 769 Peas] D : Passe ; with this line D. breaks off ; 770 satysfaccoon] L : satysfacyon.

die en connen vinden gheen toeuerlaet
 Dan aen den priesterliken staet
 dit heeft die heere den priester ghegheuen
 Ende zijn in zijn stede hier ghebleuen

720 dus zijn si bouen die enghelen gheset

¶ *Kennisse*

Dats waer diet wel hout onbesmet
 Mer doen hi hinc met groter smerten
 Aent cruce daer gaf hij ons wt *zijnder* herten
 Die seuen sacramenten met seere

725 Hi en vercoft ons niet die heere
 Hier om dat sinte peter lijdt
 dat si alle zijn vermaledijt
 die god copen oft vercopen
 Ende daer af ghelt nemen met hoopen

730 Si gheuen den sondaer quaet exempl
 (d. 2. r°.)
 Haer kinder lopen in den tempel
 Ende som sitten si bi wiuen
 In onsuerheyt van liuen
 Dese zijn emmers haers sins onvroet

¶ *Vijf sinnen*

735 Ic hope of god wil dat niemand en doet
 Daer om laet ons die priesters eeran
 Ende volghen altijd haer leeren
 Wi zijn haer scapen *ende* si ons herden
 Daer wi alle in behoet werden

722 doen] B : doe ; 725 vercoft] B : *vercocht* ; 729 ghelt nemen] B : nemen
 ghelt ; 733 Crossed out in H ; 734 emmers] B : emmer ; sins] B, H. sints ;
 735 of] not in B.

Good dedes ¶ Me thynketh it is he in dede

every man ¶ Now Ihesu cryst be your alder sped
I haue receyued the sacramente for my redempcyon
And thou myne extreme vnccyon

775 Blessyd be all they that counceyled me to take it
And now frendes let vs go without longer respyte
I thanke god that ye haue taryed so longe
Now set eche of you on this rodde your honde
And shortly folwe me

780 I go before there I wolde be / god be our guyde

Strength ¶ Eueryman we wyll not from you go
Tyll ye haue gone this vyage longe

Descretion ¶ I dyscressyon wyll byde by you also

Knowlege ¶ And though this pylgrimage be neuer so stronge
785 I wyll neuer parte you fro
Eueryman I wyll be as sure by the
As euer I dyd by Iudas machabe

771 Me thynketh] B : Me thinke ; L : Me thynke ; 772 Ihesu cryst be your]
B : Iesu be our ; L : Iesu be your ; 774 thou myne] B : myne ; L : than
myne ; 776 longer] B : lenger ; with this line D. begins again ; 778 your]
B. D : his ; honde] B : hande ; 780 God be our guyde] A separate line in
B. D ; our] L : your ; 782 gone] L : done ; 786 In B. this line is attri-
buted to Strength ; 787 dyd] B : was.

740 Laet dit wesen niet meer vermaen

¶ *Duecht*

Elckerlijc coemt hi heeft voldaen

Dus laet ons zijn op ons hoede

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Heer god mi is so wel te moede

Dat ic van vruechden wene als een kint

745 Ic hebbe ontfafen mijn sacrament

Ende dat olizel mede (.) danc heb diet riet

Nv vrienden sonder te letten yet

(d. 2. v^o.)

Ick danck gode dat ic v allen vant

Slaet aen dit roeyken allen u hant

750 Ende volghet mi haestelic na desen

Ick gae vore daer ic wil wesen

Ons heere god wil mi gheleyden

¶ *Cracht*

Elckerlijc wi en willen van v niet sceyden

Voer ghi ghedaen hebt dese vaert

¶ *Vroetscap*

755 Wi bliuens v bi onghespaeert

Also wi gheloeft oec langhe

¶ *Kennisse*

Och dits een pelgrimagie seer strange

Die elckerlijc sal moeten gaen

¶ *Cracht*

Elckerlijc siet hoe wi v bi staen

740 vermaen] B : *vermanen* 747 yet] B : *yeet*; 754 dese] B : *dese lange*;
 756 gheloeft] B, H : *gheloeft hebben*; 757 seer] B : *hart ende*; 759 bistaen]
 B : *staen*; H : *bestaan*;

every man ¶ Alas I am so faynt I may not stande
 My lymmes vnder me do folde
 790 Frendes let vs not turne agayne to this lande
 Not for all the worldes golde
 For into this caue must I crepe
 And turne to the erth *and* there to slepe

Beautye. ¶ What in to this graue alas

every man 795 ¶ Ye there shall you consume more *and* lesse

Beautye. ¶ And what shulde I smoder here

every man ¶ Ye be my fayth and neuer more appere
 In this worlde lyue nomore we shall
 But in heuen before the hyest lorde of all

Beautye. 800 ¶ I crosse out all this / adewe by saynte Iohnne
 I take my cap in my lap and am gone

every man ¶ What beautye whether wyll ye

Beautye. ¶ Peas I am defe / I loke not behynde me
 Not *and* thou wolde gyue me all the golde in thy chest

788 so faynt] B : faynt; 789 do] L : doth; 793 to] not in B; the] not in L; 795 you] B : we; L : ye; 796 Under this line we find in H : « The summonyng • and the signature D ii; 797 fayth] B : fay; be] L : by; 799 The D. fragment ends here; 800 Johā] L : Johan; 801 cap] B, L : tappe; 804 wolde] L : woldest.

760 Streck vroem en hebt gheen vaer

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ay mi die leden zijn mi so swaer
Dat si gaen bouen voer den gru
(d. 3. r^o.)

Lieue vrienden wi en willen niet keeren nv.

Sal ic mijn pelgrimagie betalen

765 So moet ic hier binnen dalen
In desen put ende werden aerde

¶ *Schoonheydt*

Wat in desen putte

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ja van desen waerden
Soe moeten wi werden clein ende groot

¶ *Schoonheydt*

Wat hier in versmoren

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ja hierin versmoren ende bliuen doot

770 Ter werelt. mer leuende wesen altijt
Voer den ouersten heere

¶ *Schoonheydt*

Ick schelt u al quijt

Adieu vaert wel ic schoer mijn scout

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Wat schoonheydt

(d. 3. v^o.)

¶ *Schoonheydt*

Ic bin al doue ic en saghe niet omme

775 Al mocht mi baten alder werelt schat

760 Streck] B, H : sterc ; 762 voer den] B, H : doerden ; 763 keeren] B : wederkeren ; 765 moet ic] B : moeten wi ; 766 werden aerde] L : werde naerde ; B : worden aerde ; H : werden aerde ; 767 putte] H II C. adds : ic niet en begaerde ; this last word not very claeer ; 2nd desen] B H : deser ; 769 versmoren] H II C. adds : dat en iagen no / cut off. ; 771 heere] H II C. adds : tis tijt ; v] not in B ; 773 schoonheydt] H II C. adds : stout / wilt mit mi comen ; 774 doue] B : doef ; 775 alder] B : der.

eueryman 805 ¶ Alas wherto may I truste
 Beautye goeth fast awaye and from me
 She promysed with me to lyue and dye

Strength ¶ Eueryman I wyll the also forsake *and* denye
 Thy game lyketh me not at all

euery man 810 ¶ Why / than ye wyll for sake me all
 Swete strength tary a lytell space

Strength ¶ Nay syr by the rode of grace
 I wyll hye me from the fast
 Though thou wepe tyll thy harte brast

euery man 815 ¶ Ye wolde euer byde by me ye sayd

Strength ¶ Ye I have you ferre ynough conuayed
 Ye be olde ynough I vnderstande
 Your pylgrymage to take on hande

805 truste] B : nowe trust; 806 With this line the D. fragment begins again; goeth fast awaye and from me] B : dothe fast awaye hye ; L : gothe fast awaye fro me ; from me] D : hie; 807 She] B : He ; 809 Thy] D : The which H. H. prints ; 811 Sméte] not in B ; tary a lytell] B : tary I pray you a lytell ; *I pray you* is not in D. but it may have been in, as something is torn away before *strength* ; 814 tyll thy harte brast] L : to thy herte to brast ; brast] D : to braste ; 815 byde] B : haue bydde.

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Waer op wil ic mi verlaten
 Schoonheyt vliet oftmense iaechde
 Nochtan te voren doen ic haer vraechde
 Woude si met mi steruen ende leuen

¶ *Cracht*

780 Elckerlijc ic wil v oec begheuen
 V spel en behaecht mi niet te deghe

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Cracht saldi mi oec ontgaen

¶ *Cracht*

Ja ic wil seker weghe
 Daer mede ghesloten een voer al

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Lieuwe cracht onbeyt noch

¶ *Cracht*

Bi sinte loy ick en sal

(d. 4. ro.)

785 Waendi dat ic in dien put wil versmoren

¶ *Elckerlijc*

En suldi mi dan ontgaen

¶ *Cracht*

Ja ick tes al verloren

Al soudi uwen nauel wt crijten

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Suldi aldus v ghelofte quijten

Ghi soudt mi bi bliuen so ghi seyt

¶ *Cracht*

790 Ick heb v verre ghenoech gheleyt

Oec sidioudt ghenoech ic waen

V pelgrimagie alleen te gaen

782 oec] not in B; 789 bliuen] L : blinen; 790 verre] B : verde ; alleen] not in B.

I repente me that I hether came
euery man 820 ¶ Strength you to dysplease I am to blame
 Wyll you breke promyse / that is dette
Strength ¶ In fayth I care not
 Thou arte but a foole to complayne
 You spende your speche and waste your brayne
 825 Go thryst the in to the grounde

euery man ¶ I had wende surer I shulde you haue founde
 He that trusteth in his strength
 She hym deceyueth at the length
 Bothe strength and beautye forsaketh me
 830 Yet they promysed me fayre and louyngly

Descretion ¶ Eueryman I will after strength begone
 As for me I will leue you alone

euery man ¶ Why descressyon wyll ye forsake me

Descretion ¶ Ye in fayth I wyll go from the
 835 For whan strength goeth before
 I folow after euermore

819 hether] L : hyder ; 821 you] L : ye ; Wyll you breke promyse / that
 is dette] B : Yet promise is dette / this ye well wot ; 822 fayth I] B : faythe
 as for that I ; 824 You spende your] B : Thou spendeth thy ; waste your]
 B : wastest thy ; 825 thryst] B : trusse ; D : thirste ; 826 wende] B : went ;
 827 He] B : But I se well he ; 828 She hym deceyueth] B : Is greatly
 disceyued ; 829 Bothe] B : For ; forsaketh] B : hath forsaken ; 830 fayre
 and louyngly] B : stedfast to be ; with this line the D. fragment ends ;
 834 in] B : in good ; 835 goeth] B : is gone ; 836 I] B : Than I .

Mi es leet dat icker heden quam

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ay lieue cracht ic make v gram

¶ *Cracht*

795 Tes al verloren rust v hoeft

Ende gaet int doncker huys

¶ *Elckerlijc*

(d. 4. v°.)

Dit en had ic v niet gheloeft

Wie wil hem verlaten op zijn cracht

Si vliet alst mist doet wter gracht

Schoonheit is als wint die vlieghet

800 Ay getrouwe vrienden dat ghi dus lieget

Ghi seydet mi toe schoon ter kore

Vroetschap

Elckerlijc ic wil oeck gaen dore

ende nemen wtstel van desen

Waendi dat wi hier in willen wesen

805 Hoet v van dien ic wils mi wachten

Elckerlijc

O vroetschap vroetschap

Vroeschap

Ick en wil niet mede

Tes verloren ghevroescapt claeer

806 vroetschap].H 1 C. adds : is dyt reden.

euery man ¶ Yet I pray the for the loue of the trynytye
 Loke in my graue ones pyteously

Descretion ¶ Nay so nye I will not cume
 840 Farewell euerychone

euery man ¶ O all thyng fayleth sauē god alone
 Beautye / strength / and descressyon
 - For whan deth bloweth his blaste
 They all renne from me full fast

v. wyttis. 845 ¶ Eueryman of the now my leue I take
 I wyll folow the other for here I the forsake

everyman ¶ Alas than may I wayle and wepe
 For I toke you for my best frende
v. wyties. ¶ I wyll no lenger the kepe
 850 Now farewell and there an ende

837 the loue] B. D : loue; with this line D. begins ; 838 ones pyteously]
 B : and thou shalt se; 839 I will] L : wyll I; 840 Farewell] B : Nowe
 farewell felewes D : Forwell ; 844 renne from me full fast] B : ronne away
 fro me fast ; 845 of the now my leue] L : my leue now of the ; 847 wayle]
 B : bothe wayle ; 848 toke] D : take ; 850 farewell] D : forwell ; there] B : here.

Elckerlijc

Lieu vroeschap coemt doch soe nae
 Dat ghi hier binnen den gront aensiet
 Ick bidts v oetmoedelijc
 (d. 5. r^o.)

¶ Vroeschap

810 Bi sinte loy ick en doe des niet
 Mi rouwet dat icker ye quam so bi

¶ Elckerlijc

Och al mist dat god niet en si
 Schoonheyt cracht ende vroescap groot
 Het vliet van elckerlijc als coemt de doot

815 Arm mensche waer sal ic nv op lenen

¶ Vijf sinnen

Elckerlijc ic wil oec henen
 Ende volghen den anderen die u ontweruen

¶ Elckerlijc

Och lieue vijf sinnen

¶ Vijf sinnen

Ick en wil daer niet aen winnen
 Dat ghi veel roept ten mach nyet baten

¶ Elckerlijc

820 Och suldi mi alle gader laten

¶ Duecht

Neen wi elckerlijc zijt ghestelt
 (d. 5. v^o.)

¶ Elckerlijck

Ay mi mijn vijf sinnen

¶ Vijf sinnen

Roept al dat ghi wilt.

Ghi en sult mi niet meer van voor bekijken

808 doch] B : toch ; 810 oetmoedelijc] B : oetmoedich : ; 810 doedes] B : doets ; 811 rouwet] B : rouwe ; 815 lenen] B, H, L : leuen ; 817 v ontweruen] H i C. changes this into : ic mynne ; 821 zijt ghestelt] crossed out in H ; 822 Ay] B : Ey ; 824 mi] H i C. adds : ende wylt mi niet beswiken ; v n. besw.] B : niet wyken ; beswyken is crossed out in H.

every man ¶ O Iesu helpe all hath forsaken me

Good dedes ¶ Nay eueryman I wyll byde with the
I wyll not forsake the in dede
Thou shalte fynde me a god frende at nede

everyman 855 ¶ Gramercy good dedes now may I true frendes se
They haue forsaken me euerychone
I loued them better then my good dedes alone
Knowlege wyll ye forsake me also

Knowlege ¶ Ye eueryman whan ye to deth do go
860 But not yet for no maner of daungere

every man ¶ Gramercy knowlege with all my herte

Knowlege ¶ Naye yet I wyll not from hens departe
Tyll I se where ye shall become

every man ¶ Me thynketh alas that I must be gone
865 To make my rekenyng and my dettes paye
For I se my tyme is nye spente awaye
Take example all ye that this do here or se
How they that I loued best do forsake me
Exepte my good dedes that bydeth truly

Good dedes 870 ¶ All ertly thynge is but vanyte
Beaute strength and discrecyon do man forsake
Polysshe frendes and kynnesmen that fayre spake

851 O] B : Nowe; 852 byde] B : a byde; 859 ye] B : you; do] B. L : shall; 860 After this line in H. « The somonynge » and the signature D iiii; 861 With this line a D. fragment ends; 864 thynketh] L : thynke; 867 example] B : ensample; 868 do] B : nowe; loued] L : loue; D : do, most likely, upper part of *d* being cut off; with this line a D. fragment begins again; 870 thynge] B. L : thynges; ertly] D : earthly.

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Lieuue duecht blijft ghi bi mi

¶ *Duecht*

Ick en sal v nemmeer beswijken

825 Om leuen om steruen of om gheen torment

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Hier zijn ghetrouwne vrienden bekent

Alle die mi ontgaen ghemeene

Die mindic meer dan mijn duecht alleen

Kennisse suldi mi oec begheuen

¶ *Kennisse*

830 Ja ic elckerlijc als ghi eyndet v leuen

Mer seker niet eer om gheen dangier

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Danck hebt kennisse

(d. 6. r°.)

¶ *Kennisse*

Ick en scheyde niet van hier

Voer dat ghi zijt daer ghi behoort

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Mi dunct wacharmen wij moeten voert

835 Rekeninghe doen ende ghelden myn scult

Want mijn tijt is schier veruult

Neemt exemplēl aen diet hoort ende siet

Ende merct hoet nv al van mi vliet

Sonder myn duecht wil met mi varen

¶ *Duecht*

840 Alle aertsche dinghen zijn al niet

832 kennisse] H 1 C. or 11 C. adds : fyer ; 834 wacharmen] B : achermen ;

837 Neemt B. H : Neemt er ; aen] B : an alle ; 839 varen] H 1 C. adds : dat syet.

All fleeth sauē good dedes and that am I

euery man ¶ Haue mercy on me god moost myghty

875 And stande by me thou moder *and* mayde holy Mary

Good dedes ¶ Fere not I wyll speke for the

euery man ¶ Here I crye god mercy

Good dedes ¶ Shorte oure ende and mynysshe our Payne
Let vs go and neuer come agayne

euery man 880 ¶ Into thy handes lorde my soule I commende
Receyue it lorde that it be nat lost

As thou me boughtest so me defende

And sauē me from the fendes boost

That I may appere with that blessed hoost

885 That shall be sauēd at the dome

(In manus tuas) of myghtes moost

For euer (commendo spiritum meum)

Knowledge ¶ Now hath he suffred that we all shall endure
The good dedes shall make all sure

873 fleeth] B : flyeth ; 875 holy] not in B. D. ; 880 lorde] B. D : lordes ;
882 boughtest] D : broughtest ; 885 dome] B. D. L : day of dome ; 888 all] not in B ; 889 The] B : Thy.

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Duecht merct hoet nv al van mi vliet

¶ *Duecht*

Schoonheyt cracht vroescap dat hem liet

Tgheselscap die vrienden ende magen waren

¶ *Elckerlijc*

844 Nv merct hoet nv al van mi vliet

Sonder mijn duecht die wil mit mi varen
(d. 6. v°.)

Ghenade coninc der enghelen scharen

847 Ghenade moeder gods staet mi bi

¶ *Duecht*

Ic sal mi puer voer gode verclare

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ghenade coninc der enghelen scharen

¶ *Duecht*

850 Cort ons die pine sonder verswaren

Maect ons deynde los ende vri

¶ *Elckerlijc*

Ghenade coninck der enghelen scharen

Ghenade moeder gods staet mi bi

In uwen handen vader hoe dat si

855 Beueel ic v minen gheest in vreden

Ick vare metter duecht

¶ *Kennisse*

Hi heeft leden dat wij alle moeten gelden

die duecht sal nv haer seluen melden

841 Duecht] B, H : Doch ; 843 waren] H i C. adds : dyet ; 845 die] not in B. ; 847 staet mi bi] H i C. substitutes : wylt met my varen, but *met* and *varen* are not certain.

890 Now hathe he made endynge
 Me thynketh that I here angelles syng
 And make great Ioye and melodye
 Where euery mannes soule shall receyued be

Aungell ¶ Cume excellent electe spouse to Iesu
 895 Here aboue thou shall go
 By cause of thy synguler vertue
 Now thy soule is taken thy body fro
 Thy rekenyng is crystall clere
 Now shalt thou into the heuenly spere
 900 Vnto the whiche all ye shall cume
 That luyeth well / before the day of dome

Doctoure ¶ This memoryall men / may haue in mynde
 Ye herers take it of worth olde and yonge
 And forsake pryd / for he deceyueth you in *the* ende
 905 And remembre beautye / fyue wyttes / strength / and dis-
 They all at *the* last / do eueryman forsake [cession
 Sae his good dedes / there dothe he take
 But beware / for and they be small
 Before god / he hath no helpe at all
 910 None excuse may be there / for eueryman
 Alas how shall he do than
 For after deth / amendes may no man make
 For than mercy and petye doeth hym forsake

891 Me thynketh] B : Methinke; 892 Make] B : Maketh; 893 shall
 receyued] L : receyued shall; with this line D. breaks off; 894 B : The aungell ;
 895 shall] B : shalts ; L : shalte ; 897 thy] L : the (twice); 900 With this line
 D. begins again; 901 before] B. D : after ; 902 memoryall] L : morall ;
 903 of] B. D : a ; 905 fyue] L : v. ; 906 the] not in B ; dothe] D : do ; 907 he]
 not in B ; 908 beware for] L : be ware.

Voer hem diet al ordelen sal

860 Mi dunct ic hore der enghelen gheschal
(d. 7. v^o.)

Hier bouen. den hemel is seker ontdaan
Daer elckerlijck binnen sal zijn ontaen

¶ *Die yngel seyt*

Coemt wtuercoren bruyt

Hier bouen ende hoort dat suete gheluyt

865 Der engelen mits uwe goede virtuyt

Die siele neem ick den lichaem wt

Haer rekeninghe is puer ende reyne

Nv voer icse in des hemels pleyne

Daer wi alle moeten ghemeene

870 In comen groot ende cleene

A M E N

¶ *Die nae prologhe.*

N eemt in dancke cleyn ende groot

Ende siet hoe elckerlijc coemt doot

Gheselscal vrienden ende gøet

Gaet elckerlijc af zijt des vroet

875 Scoonheyt cracht vroescap ende vijf sinnen
(d. 7. v^o.)

Tes al verganclijc zijt des te binnen

Sonder die duecht volcht voer al

Mer als die duecht is so smal

dat si niet mede en mach oft en kan

880 Arm elckerlijc hoe vaerdi dan

Ter rekeninghen van onsen heere

Dan gadi van wee van seere

868 bruyt] H n C adds : hi sel n̄ / cutoff ; com̄ nut / ; 871 Neemt] For the rubrication of N space is left open in B ; 872 doot] B, H : ter doot ; doot on the next line in B ; 874 zijt des] B : dies sijt ; 879 oft] B : of ; 881 van] B : voer.

If his rekenyng be not clere / whan he do cum
 915 God wyll saye (ite maledicti in ignem eternam.
 And he that hath his accounte hole *and* sounde
 Hye in heuen / he shall be crounde
 Vnto the whiche place / god bryngē vs all thether
 That we may lyue / body and soule to gyther
 920 Therto helpe the trynytye
 Say ye for saynte charytye.

A M E N

914 do] L : doth ; 915 eternam] B. D : eternum ; L : eternum ; 918 the]
 not in B. L ; 921 Say ye for saynt charytye] B : Amen say ye / for saynt
 charite ; (L : charyte); Amen] B : Finis; L : FINIS. In H. the N of
 A M E N is only partly there, owing to a gap in the paper.

The printer's Mark of John Skot is found in H ; it has his initials and
 name : IOHN SCOTT.

The Colophon of B is : ¶ Imprynted at London in Fletestrete / by me
 Rycharde Pynson / prynter to the Kynges moost noble grace.

The Colophon of D : ¶ Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the
 sygne of the George by Rycharde Pynson / prynter unto the Kyngs noble
 grace. ~

and that of L : Thus endeth this morall playe of Euery man. Imprynted
 at London in Poules Chyrche yarde, by me John Skot.

Beneath the Colophon of L is John Skots device for a description of
 which, as well as of that of H, see Appendix.

Want na die doot eest quaet te verhalen
daer en baet voerspraec noch tale

885 Ay elckerlijc hoe moechdi wesen
Houaerdich nidich seer wtghelesen
Merct desen spieghel (.) hebten voer oghen
Ende wilt v van houardien poghen
ende oec van allen sonden met (.)

890 Nv laet ons bidden onghelet
dat dit elck mensche moet vesten
Dat wi voer gode suuer comen ten lesten
des gonre ons die hemelsche vader
Amen segghet alle gader

895 *¶ God heb lof*
(d. 8. v°.)

¶ Gheprent Tantwerpen buyten dye
camer poorte inden gulden eenhoren bij
mi Willem vorsterman

(d. 8. v°.)

885 Ay] B : Ey ; 890 With this line H. ends ; 891 moet] B : so moet ;
892 suuer comen] B : c. s. 894 segghet] B : sege ; 895 not in B. Colophen]
In B : Gheprent te Delf in hollaut (sic) ; and on the v°, in big characters :
Delf in hollant. (See Introduction p. ix note 1.)



NOTES ON THE DUTCH TEXT.

13, 14. These lines are not quite clear. The meaning seems to be this : For (want mits) the aggregate of all the seven deadly sinnes is i. e. all the deadly sins are come to the front (opghedaen, patefacere, Kiliaen); (and) hence I now weep.

18. *donnosel*, i. e. innocence. Latin A. 5 v° : *candida Innocentia*.

62. *keere*. Death represented with a dart is so common — see e. g. the Description of the frontispiece to our Text in the Introduction — that I would almost propose *geere* : See also Ev. l. 76. We must bear in mind that the expression *gaen met snellen keere* is so common as to easily explain the corruption of *geere* into *keere*.

85. *die* : whence? I propose : *daen*. The loss of the *n* is explained by the *n* following. The scribe or printer finding *dae* and looking upon it as a wrong form changed it into *die*. This presupposes that B was not the first form in which the text was written or published. We shall see that many circumstances point to this supposition. See notes to ll. 99, 148, 394, etc.

99. I had to count *Wie bist du bode* as one line (98), but there can hardly be any doubt that we must read : *Wie bist du bode. — Ick ben die doot* as one line rhyming on l. 97, and take *die niemant en spaert. Maer elckerlyc sal bi* as the next, rhyming on l. 101. B = L. Hence B. was not the first text. See note to l. 85.

114. Nu houtet al met mi den voet. The general sense seems clear enough from the context : (Far from allowing myself to be bribed) it is altogether different with me; Hence the Englishman translates it in this way. (Ev. 129). But the Dutch text has something quite different. Kiliaen translates *voethouden* by : *Conferre pedem, collato pede præliari*. So El. 114 means : Now every body fights with me i. e. No one agrees with me, no one indulges me in my wishes, and *hence* (= oec, El. 115) I do not indulge others. Prof. Verdam of Leiden, to whom I am indebted for some valuable hints, suggests that *den voet houden* should here, as elsewhere (See his Dict. in V. pp. 629, 630) mean : to keep pace with a person, to try to keep up with a person.

120. cf. mod. Du. « *Ergens een mouw aanpassen* » lit. to fit on a sleeve to anything, to try to fit on a thing, to see one's way to do a thing.

148. H II C's change of *simmen* into *bynnen* is a very ingenious

one. It is not at all impossible that the original text had *bynnen*. As, however, this is about the only « Correction » of H II C's that seems worth adopting, we have no right to suppose that H II C had access to this older copy. See note to l. 85.

199. *Ende ick wiste te voren*. It is not certain whether these words form but the first half to a line, the whole of which wants such a supplement as is afforded in : *Danc hebt gheselscap*. I act on the hint given by H II C who supplements *voerwaer*, and count the lines : *Ende — voren* (*voerwaer*) as one line.

207. *bouen screue*. The rhyme is out of order. We expect something to have been omitted to which view the Latin text gives countenance, *præclara* (= *bouen screue*) *dicis et quidem fraterna*. Perhaps a line and a half is lost. On the other hand, three rhymes would seem to be possible (See note to ll. 251 ff. 413.) so that the insertion of one word rhyming on *trouwe* may suffice.

210. f. Absence of rhyme is not *per se* an argument for corruption of the text. Otherwise would propose *behaecht* instead of *verhuecht*. The scribe's eye would be liable of being caught by *vr* — in the preceding and *ver* — in the following line.

251. ff. I take *Oft daer — mede* as one line, and *Waert altoos — bereet* (*berede*) as another, which again gives us three rhymes. See note to l. 207.

254. This line, as it stands, is nonsense. If there is one thing to which *Felaweship* is opposed, it is to go on this pilgrimage with Everyman. I cannot account for it. It is of course easy enough to propose « corrections » but I can find none, which satisfies me, as none will at the same time explain the corruption. V. Gennep's *Homulus* l. 952 (Wilt du zu Rom of zu Jerusalem gan) suggests that *Felaweshyp* may here think of « a » pilgrimage not of the one to which he was invited. But the line remains obscure.

256. *Ic hulpen ontslippen tot in die broock*. I suppose *broock* = *broeck* = *palus*. The context requires not *ontslippen* = to slip away, but a causative : to *make* go away, i. e., *ontslepen*, to drag away. But no change seems necessary. Thus in modern Du. (as in English) *slepen* (as to *drag*) is both transitive and intransitive.

258. *bescheen*. B : *bescheet*. The unusual form seems required by the rhyme. Verdam in his Middle Dutch Dictionary, gives references for the infinitive used as a substantive, but only in the sense of *distance, limits*.

260. Perhaps part of l. 259.

268. Perhaps part of l. 269.

312. Although I left my text as it stands in I., it is evident that

Almachtighe (in H : *almachtighe*) is a late interpolation in H. and L. Observe the small *a* in H. Hence the original (long) line was : *Hier wilt doch mede gaen dat v god lone.*

317-327. I had to count the lines as they present themselves, any attempt at a systematic numbering proving hopeless. The bold attempts by which H. II C. tries to restore order, are amusing but no more.

336. If rhyme were absolutely necessary, we might read : *Ic en wil niet mede, gheseyt opt plat.*

348. *zoringhe* = *bedroch* = *praevaricatio, fraus.*

361. *versockelt, vermost, etc.* See the Latin text : *Hic sum compedita, obserata, Muscosa et tineis lacerata edacibus*, which will clear up the passage if we bear in mind that it is « *Tgoet* » that speaks.

393-394. The rhyme is wanting, but it is not difficult to restore it. Read : *Als ict verantwoerden sal moeten strangelic/ Op ga wi mede.* (*Tgoet*) *Neen ik ben onbranlyc.* Observe that B has *ou-*, read *onbrankelijc*. But what is *onbrankelijc*? The context requires : immovable, obstinate. H. II C. evidently understood this, when he substituted *onberoerlijc* by which substitution he proved onbrankelyc not to be a current form. I do not know what to make of it. In the teeth of all the texts I hardly dare propose a change. Must we read *onwankelijc*? Prof. Vercoullie suggests that by a substitution of prefixes it should be formed on the pattern of *inébranlable*. See note to l. 85.

413. Three rhymes are here in all probability original. Of course, *sekerlijc* might be a later addition, such as H II C is fond of inventing, but observe that Ev. 445 has *verely*.

448 and 449 : *spreken* and *nochtans*; no rhyme nor assonance. Perhaps the original text (note to l. 85) read :

Och! en salic haer niet toe spreken dorren?

Wil ic? Neen ik! ick sal se nochtans

porren. Porren being

on a separate line was lost, and the order of *spreken dorren* inverted; but I grant that I can assign no very plausible reason for the corruption assumed.

461. The rhyme seems alternating here instead of in couplets. Read in l. 461 : *Wilt gaen* instead of *gaen*? There are other irregularities.

468. *weyn*. Kiliaen has : *weyn* *vetus* : *dolor*.

479. No rhyme. A line dropped out?

501. *Wt reynen bestier.* Latin text (C. 2. v°) *Ex animo perplacet.*

526. *termynen*, Ev. 559 *chastyse*; Latin text (ib.). *Quibus noxia corpora scelerum ministra/ Piabis....;* *termynen loopen* or *termynen wanderen* = to go a begging (See gloss. to *Hildegarsberch*, in voce); hence : to do penance.

548-575. The rhyme seems here to be alternating in pairs of two and

single lines, but even thus loosely formulated, the rule is not without exceptions.

574. onrachtich = crooked? not straight (on-recht-ig)? cpl. 573.

593. Tseghen = tjegen; cf. *Antequam via pergatur inevitabilis læti* (C 1. v°).

611. *douwen* (dauwen) i. e. to be wet like dew.

626. The suggestion with regard to *klaer* (see Introduction p. xxxiii sub. 12.) is borne out by Kiliaen in V. *klaeren* and *afklaeren*.

634. It is possible that what I have now counted as ll. 634, 635 should originally have formed one line. I prefer however to look upon *beraders* (634) as an instance of assonance with *gader* (636) or a mistake for *berader* (the mistake may have been caused by the copiest thoughtlessly looking upon « vyf sinnen » as a plural, whereas in reality it is a personified abstraction and hence a singular). *Becluen* (633) and *gecrighen* are assonances in either case. If we took 634 and 635 as one line, we should necessarily have to take *Roepse alle gader* (636) as part of what is now 637. As it is, 636 is an unusually short line.

740. B has *vermanen* which is required by the sense. It is not necessary to change the rhyme of *voldaen* in l. 741, e. g. into *voldaen en* with « overflow » to l. 742, because assonance may be assumed. On the other hand this very absence of rhyme may have caused the printers of H and L to change *vermanen* into *vermaen*.

741. Duecht. The Latin text gives these words to *Cognitio*.

749. The Latin text has this marginal note : *Habebit Homulus crucem in manibus*.

762. *Dat si gaen boven voer* (B. H : doer) *den gru*. The Latin has : *membra ingrauescunt, fathiscit corporeum robur/ Et quasi me pedes non ferunt mei. Bouen gaen* means : to break one's word; *doer den gru* = for fear.

772. *ic schoer myn scout*. Somehow these words must indicate that « Schoonheydt » takes her leave. One thinks of course at once of such Dutch expressions as *den piek schuren* and *den plaat poetsen* both of which mean : to go away. But the connexion is doubtful. Scout = debt, guilt. If it could only mean : the document acknowledging the debt, we should get some light. The phrase would then mean : I tear up my bond, I won't have anything to do with you, i. e. I am gone.

773. This line is very short, but I must needs count it as a separate one, leaving it an open question if any thing — a line and a half? — has been omitted. Ev. 801 adds : *whyder wyll ye*. Perhaps : *Syt ghi mi hout?* Even then a rhyme to l. 774 is wanting.

774. Read : *Al mocht der* (cf. B.) *werelt schat mi baten?*

801. ter kore. Latin (D. 5. v°) magnifice.

806. This line : *O, vroetscap, vroetscap. — Ik en wil niet mede* should rhyme with l. 805.

815. Notwithstanding the agreement between B. H and L, which all three present *leuen* I read *lenen* as rhyme to *henen*.

817. I take *Ende volghen den anderen die v ontweruen. — Och lieve vijf sinnen* as one line, notwithstanding its length. However *den anderen* may be a gloss which has wrongly got into the text.

837-854. The rhyme changes to : aab aaab ab bc bbcc bcc, after which line we again fall into the regular complet.

855. The rhyme in 856 to *vreden* is wanting. Perhaps l. 857 is to be cut up in two parts : *Hi helpt leden/ Dat wi alle moeten gelden*. The Latin text has the following marginal note : *Hic Homulus cum Virtute sepulchrum* incidit.

NOTES ON THE ENGLISH TEXT¹.

22. Whether the first or the second person of the Trinity is here meant, seems not to be clear. Bishop Percy decided for the second, with which opinion Hazlitt does not agree. « It appears to have been the « Godhead whom the writer intended to personify, and although he « makes the speaker refer to his Passion and Redemption, it is evi- « dently only in a delegated sense : for Death refers to him spiritually « as the Almighty ». Hazlitt's Dodsley I, 100. The writer evidently wavered between the two conceptions.

85. I have left the superscript *u* over the *y*, as in some cases it was not quite certain whether it was to be expanded into *you* or *thou*. Here, of course as every where where the form of the verb shows it to be a second person singular, ^u*y* = *thou*. See the confusion of *ye* and *the* in l. 121.

102. *blynde*, a transfer of the sense : that which cannot see, into : that which cannot be seen, i. e. obscure. See Murray in v. sub III. 6. a, and lower down : ll. 419, 508.

112. *attournay* = intercessor, pleader (not only *vertreten* as Goedeke translates). See Murray in V.

115. I am deth that ... dredeth, For this attraction see e. g. the first line of the third Chester Play: I, God, that all this wolde *hath* wroughe. In l. 116 *spareth* was attracted by *dredeth*. Goedeke misled by this construction wrongly translated : Ich bin der Tod den keiner ver- scheucht, instead of : der keinen fürchtet.

142. *preue* = test; Goedeke wrongly translates by *warne*.

248. M^r Pollard calls : *promyse* is *duyte* = « promise is duty » a poor version of the old proverb « behest is debt ». I fancy if *duyte* = duty it is no version at all. I prefer to look upon *duyte* as merely a corrupt spelling for *dette* which occurs in l. 821. The absence of rhyme does not invalidate my view.

316. See Introduction p. xxix.

348. *borne*. The word was perhaps *bore*, rhyme to *more*; although absence of rhyme by no means makes a change necessary. Assonance in

¹ Some further notes will be found in the fourth chapter of the Introduction.

fact, very often takes the place of rhyme; See e. g. ll. 478, 479, and *passim*.

549. Redempt (H. Redempe) seems to have got into the text, instead of *Repent* (B.) under the influence of *redempcyon* in l. 548.

596. Moyses table. Quid? There can of course be no question of Moyses tables of testimony. It seems however that the writer mixed these up with the popular notion of the tables i. e. the book in heaven in which the names of good and evil people were written down.

613. The Latin Homulus has here the marginal gloss : *Hic se flagellat Homulus.*

627-635. The order of these lines is not the same as that of the corresponding lines in El.; Ev. 627 = El. 612; Ev. 628 = El. 604; Ev. 629-633 = El. 605-610; Ev. 634, 635 = El. 603 and 611.

637. *thy*, i. e. the.

666, 670, 675 : Kynred, Beautye and Strength's words. In the Dutch text the speeches are respectively attributed to : Kennisse, Cracht and schoonheyt. I see no reason for changing either order.

702. In *quyet* = quietly? See *still* in l. 701. But the reading *I it bequeath* of L, B, D, seems preferable in view of the context, and of El. l. 671. *Gheuick*. As moreover the corruption into *quyet* may easily be explained by supposing the scribe's eye to have been caught by *quyte* in l. 707, I have little hesitation in proposing : *I it bequeath*. Goedeke print *in queth*; most likely one of the numerous misprints.

704. peril. The word evidently means *power, jurisdiction*. The notions *daunger* and *power* lie close enough. See Littré in V. *danger*. Shakespeare also uses *peril* in a sense very close to, if not absolutely identical with *power, jurisdiction*. See Mids. N. D. iv. 1. 158 (Globe ed.).

801. Mr Hazlitt had already adopted the reading *cap* in stead of *tap*, which none of the commentators could explain. (See also Hall. Dict. in v.) Nor would it be easy to do so. But with *cap* it is otherwise. Mr Pollard, indeed, says : there seems no appropriateness in a cap being carried *in the bosom*. But no one talks of the bosom. The *Dramatis personae* every now and then adopt a jocose tone which is not in perfect keeping with these grave abstractions. In this playful spirit Beauty says : *Adieu, fare well* (El. 772). I doff my cap (so deep that it comes) into my lap and am gone.

APPENDIX.

I here print some additional information on the English texts, due in part, to M^r Pollard's courtesy.

At the end of the Britwell copy, and at that of the Huth-library one, two different devices of Skot's are found. The one in H represents his cypher on a scutcheon, hanging on a rose-tree, and supported by two griffins. The name IOHN SCOTT is found under the scutcheon. This is Skot's English device.

The Britwell copy has another device, borrowed by Skot from Denis Roce (of Paris, 1490-1518). The main idea : *cypher, scutcheon, rose-tree* and *griffins* is the same, but the design is different. Instead of Skot's name, under the scutcheon, there is a dog, turning round, and supporting it. There is moreover the following legend around the device :

: ALAVENTVRE · TOVT · VIENT · APONIT (for APOINT) QVI
PEVT · ATTENDRE.

· TOKS + NHOI · [i. e. John Skot read backwards.]

Pynson printed from 1493 to 1529 or 1530. There is nothing in the Museum fragment of his Edition which gives any clue to its date.

The first dated publication of John Skot belongs to the year 1521 and the last to 1537. He published very few books, (not 20 in all as far as is known), under his own name, but may have printed others which were published by Wynkyn de Worde.

The Huth and Britwell copies are printed in the same type and the woodcut of Death is the same in each. The figure of Everyman on the title is the same but in the Britwell Ed. the label over his head does not bear his name and the flowers under his feet are different. The breakages in the cut of Death are the same in each Edition, so that no clue to the date can be obtained from them. But the Huth copy has Skot's English device, the Britwell copy the one which he borrowed from Denis Roce, and as far as our present knowledge goes, the English device appears to have been used earlier than the borrowed one.

The Dutch H. and L have no catchwords.

The facsimile title page which I have reproduced on p. 100 is the of one the Vorsterman copy, described in the Introduction p. xiv and referred to on p. 87.

It should have been mentioned on p. xx of the Introduction that the van Gennep Homulus Version as printed by Norrenberg (1873, Viersen) seems to point to the Elckerlyc-Everyman as in part its direct original. I do not think that this has been observed before. Lack of space obliges me, reluctantly enough, to postpone the development of this hypothesis.

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Den spiegel der salicheyt van
eickeric Hoe d'aelcierinc uelcere wert
ghedaecht gode reheninghe te doen



Facsimile of the title-page of Vorsterman's edition.
See Appendix p. 98.

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